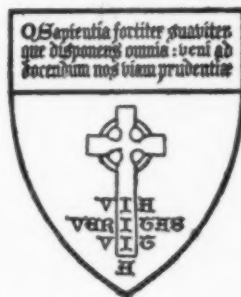


# Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT

FOUNDED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XXXVI

APRIL 1954

NUMBER 2

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

600 HAVEN STREET  
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

UNIVERSITY PRESS  
SEWANEE, TENNESSEE

\$1.00 A NUMBER

\$3.50 A YEAR

# Anglican Theological Review

VOLUME XXXVI

APRIL 1954

NUMBER 2

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The REVIEW is published four times a year, as follows: January, April, July, October. Subscription price \$3.50 annually. Single copies, \$1.00.

All editorial communications and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor, the Rev. Frederick C. Grant, 3041 Broadway, New York 27, New York.

Subscriptions should be sent to the Treasurer, the Rev. Percy V. Norwood, 600 Haven Street, Evanston, Illinois.

Books for review should be sent to the Book Review Editor, the Rev. Holt H. Graham, 600 Haven Street, Evanston, Illinois.

Entered as second-class matter, August 8, 1931, at the post-office at Evanston, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879; with additional entry at the post-office at Sewanee, Tennessee.

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# Anglican Theological Review

FOUNDED IN 1918 BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

EDITED SINCE 1924 BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT

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VOLUME XXXVI

APRIL 1954

NUMBER 2

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## EDITORIAL

### WE KNOW IN PART

Almost everything you can think of has two sides to it. Take history, for example. History, from the plain man's point of view, has two sides. From one side it is the story of what men do, and from the other side it is the story of what is done to men. If you look, for instance, at the history of Abraham Lincoln, you read the story of what he did to set a people free and save a nation. If you look at the same story from the other side, you read the story of forces and factors, situations and environment that drew out of that mysterious personality the will and the courage to meet the needs of the time. The complete history of Lincoln, therefore, must be seen from both sides; what he did, and what the times did to him.

Take the Incarnation as another example. From this side, it is the story of a baby born in obscurity, growing through boyhood into manhood, feeling his way toward a vocation, making decisions, pursuing his goal, meeting opposition and finally death. From the other side, it is the story of God reaching down into human life to reveal himself and his purpose, in the fullness of time sending forth his Son, and reconciling the world to himself. One side without the other is not the whole story of the Incarnation, for there are two sides, inseparable and indivisible.

The same thing is true about God himself. We look at God from one side and see him sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, quite independent of our world, outside it, free from its discord and disquietude, presiding over it yet never succumbing to it. This is the Transcendent side of God. But there is another side. God's presence

pervades the world as the sun fills the room in which I am sitting. God is independent of the world, but not indifferent to it. He is nearer than hands and feet. This is the Immanent side of God, and it is not until we see both sides that we have begun to comprehend the depth and richness of God's reality.

It may be unfortunate, but it is nevertheless true, that we are so constituted that we can seldom see both sides of anything at the same time. A penny has two sides, both different, but under normal circumstances we cannot see both sides at once. We have to turn it over. So it is with the greater things of which we have been speaking. We rarely see history from both sides at once. We look first at one side and then at the other. The nineteenth century historians looked long and seriously at history from the human side; for them history was the biography of great men. Contemporary historians are now turning around and looking at the other side. They are showing how history has made men. The same thing is happening with the Incarnation. For the last hundred years theologians have been tracing the human life of Jesus with renewed interest and accuracy. Now they are beginning to look more carefully at the other side. They are thinking of Jesus once again in terms of him whom God sent. They are reading the Fourth Gospel with greater appreciation. So it goes, first one side and then the other, never entirely losing sight of the other side, but often inclined to forget or minimize the other side.

The neo-orthodox theologians have done us a great service of recalling us to the transcendence of God. In a generation in which man seemed to be doing extraordinarily well, there was the temptation to bring God down to man's scale and to lift man up to God's infinite possibilities. Now we are seeing the other side of the picture. Man in his desperate need is longing for the God who is above him. He feels God's judgment upon him and he is seeing himself once again in the light of that inscrutable judgment.

The moral of all this is, granted that we cannot see both sides at once, the best we can do is to keep in the back of our minds that there *is* another side. Think of the bitterness that might have been avoided if people could only have remembered when they were emphasizing a neglected side of something that there was another side! We will do well to remember now when we are rediscovering the transcendence of God that God is immanent too. "We know in part," wrote Paul. When we forget that, we know even less.

THEODORE P. FERRIS

## LAYING HANDS ON THE SICK: ANCIENT RITE AND PRAYER BOOK FORMULAE

By H. BOONE PORTER, JR.

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The rite of laying hands on the sick has been perennially overshadowed by the more controversial questions connected with unction of the sick. The simpler and doubtless more frequently used rite does, however, have an interesting past which ought not to be neglected in the Church's consideration of ministration to the sick.

Without attempting to cover its whole history, the present paper would first briefly call attention to several curious phases of its past development which have not previously received study. We will then proceed to discuss the mediaeval sources of our Prayer Book formulae for imposition (or unction) which, surprisingly enough, had not hitherto been discovered.

### I

In the ancient Western Church, hands were regularly laid on the sick for two somewhat analogous purposes: for exorcism from demons, and for absolution from sins. All baptismal candidates were thus exorcized, but additional exorcisms were provided for sick or insane catechumens. Baptized Christians were not, for the most part, so treated; if they became sick they were prayed for, but not usually exorcized.<sup>1</sup> When infant Baptism became the norm, the exorcists had few functions left, and the order tended to die out.<sup>2</sup> The routine pre-baptismal exorcisms could be performed by any other clerics—no special *charisma* was needed. Laying on of hands was an important ceremony in absolving penitents, whether sick or whole.<sup>3</sup> In neither of these cases was the laying on of hands directly intended to convey health. It will also be recalled that the ancient bishops customarily extended their hands over persons for whom they were praying. The

<sup>1</sup>Exceptional cases could, however, be provided for. See decree of Innocent I, in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter abbreviated *Pat. Lat.*) vol. 67, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup>Michel Andrieu, "Les Ordres Mineurs dans l'Ancien Rite Romain," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 1925, pp. 254-6.

<sup>3</sup>H. C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession*, London, 1896, I, pp. 51-4.

significance of this was more like that of laying hands on the sick as we know it, yet it was then regarded as a natural gesture accompanying prayer,<sup>4</sup> rather than as a special ceremony for the sick.<sup>5</sup>

The stage of development we have described is clearly illustrated by the Gelasian Sacramentary, the oldest complete book of the rites and sacraments of the Latin Church. There are ample provisions for laying hands on sick catechumens,<sup>6</sup> but, for the baptized, sick visitation consists simply of prayers.<sup>7</sup> In addition, there is provided the monastic rite of sprinkling with holy water,<sup>8</sup> and certainly sickness was a frequent occasion for administering penance and absolution.<sup>9</sup>

The Mozarabic Church of Spain deserves the credit for being the first Western province to adjust to infant Baptism in this regard. The ancient Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* is indeed lavishly provided with rites for the sick, including the oldest known Latin order for administering unction to the sick.<sup>10</sup> The use of an antiphon based on Mark 16:18, shortly after the anointing, indicates an imposition of hands at that point.<sup>11</sup>

The Mozarabic Church also had a long series of bombastic abjurations and prayers for casting demons out of baptized persons.<sup>12</sup> Significantly, the initial rubric directs that the clergy are to be arranged before the altar as in the pre-baptismal ceremonies. The clerks join the officiating deacon in laying on hands.<sup>13</sup>

Such features had no place in the Roman rite until the Carolingian Reformation. At that time, Alcuin, in his famous supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary, introduced an exorcism for baptized "ener-

<sup>4</sup>See "Imposition des Mains" in *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, Tome VII, esp. pp. 1313-4.

<sup>5</sup>We are not here considering the miraculous power of healing by touch manifested by many saints and worthies. It may be noted, however, that in every age the liturgical rites for the sick retain interesting links with the a-liturgical acts of faith-healing.

<sup>6</sup>*The Gelasian Sacramentary*, H. A. Wilson edit., Oxford, 1894 (hereafter abbreviated *Gelasian*), pp. 110-12.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 283-8.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 66-7 and 314-5.

<sup>10</sup>*Le Liber Ordinum*, ed. by Marius Ferotin, O.S.B., Paris, 1904, pp. 71-3.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 73-80.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 74. Spain clearly had no order of exorcists at the time this rite was compiled.

<sup>14</sup>*The Gregorian Sacramentary*, ed. by H. A. Wilson (hereafter abbreviated *Gregorian*), Henry Bradshaw Society (hereafter abbreviated H.B.S.), 1915, pp. 229-32.

gumens."<sup>14</sup> Its style is reminiscent of the analogous Spanish rite. It opens with an impressive invocation of the "God of the Angels, God of the Archangels." Where did this come from? It was drawn from a pre-baptismal exorcism formula in the Gelasian Sacramentary,<sup>15</sup> but which (together with several associated forms) was omitted from Alcuin's new edition of the baptismal rites.<sup>16</sup> Other parts of this rite quite likely come from some Gallican pre-baptismal exorcism. One of the few surviving Gallican catechetical exorcisms is certainly very similar in style and spirit.<sup>17</sup>

During the ninth century, formulae for anointing and laying on hands began to be inserted by the Frankish scribes into the old Roman office of prayers for the sick.<sup>18</sup> Hereafter, unction was always accompanied by imposition. The Carolingian re-awakening of interest in the Bible and the Fathers was undoubtedly responsible for reviving these rites.<sup>19</sup>

An interesting prayer for the recovery of the sick was also introduced, which we shall do well to glance at:

Dominus Deus, qui per Apostolum tuum locutus est, "Infirmatur quis. . . ." [St. James 5:14-15 is quoted in full; it then proceeds:] Cura quaesumus, Redemptor noster, gratia Spiritus Sancti languores istius infirmi, et sua sana vulnera, eiusque dimitte peccata, atque dolores cunctos cordis et corporis expelle, plenamque ei interius exteriusque sanitatem misericorditer redde, ut ope misericordiae tuae restitutus et sanatus, ad pristina pietatis tuae reparetur officia. Per . . . .<sup>20</sup>

A translation will be given below shortly.

This prayer was probably compiled in the early ninth century in

<sup>14</sup>Gelasian, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup>Gregorian, pp. 160-1.

<sup>16</sup>In *Missale Gallicanum Vetus: Pat. Lat.*, vol. 72, p. 348.

<sup>17</sup>For list of printed editions of Frankish unction *ordines*, see Carlo de Clercq, "*Ordines Unctionis Infirmi* des IX et X Siècles," *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 1930, pp. 106-8.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Council of Chalon, A.D. 813: "Secundum beati Jacobi Apostoli documentum, cui etiam decreta patrum consonant, infirmi oleo. . . ." *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio III, Concilia II*, 1904, Con. 37, Sect. XLVIII. Also Council of Aix, A.D. 836: ". . . unctio sancti olei . . . non neglegatur, sicut nunc usque neglectum est, sed omni devotione iuxta traditionem apostolicam ac statutum decretalium . . ." (italics ours), *ibid.*, Con. 56, Sect. 20. The apostolic teaching—James 5:14-5. The decree of the Fathers—Decretal of Innocent I, in Book of Papal Decretals, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 67, pp. 240-1.

<sup>19</sup>*Pat. Lat.* vol. 78, p. 234. See note, p. 520: the prayer is included in mid-ninth century *Codex Rodrardi*.

some Frankish monastery.<sup>21</sup> The conclusion owes its phaseology to an older prayer for the sick in the Gelasian Sacramentary.<sup>22</sup>

The Spanish antiphon was frequently borrowed as an imposition formula. Several priests were expected to lay on their hands.<sup>23</sup> The phrases from the old pre-baptismal formula which opened Alcuin's rite for exorcising baptized energumens, however, ultimately made their way into the rite of sick unction. Such is, it seems, the origin of the formula for the imposition which accompanies extreme unction in the modern Roman Rituale.<sup>24</sup> In the less solemn rite of sick visitation, however, there is a laying on of the hand<sup>25</sup> in which there still occurs a quotation from St. Mark 16:18. With considerable alterations, Alcuin's rite for exorcizing baptized persons still survives also as a separate service in the Roman Rituale.

In the Ambrosian rite, the pattern is the same. Since at least the eleventh century, the rite of sick unction at Milan has included a long prayer during which the assembled presbyters lay their hands on the sufferer.<sup>26</sup> The phraseology of the prayer is at least in part drawn from pre-baptismal exorcism formulae.<sup>27</sup>

It may be of interest to mention the importance of laying on hands in the Eastern Orthodox office for the sick. After an elaborate series of anointings, the open Gospel Book is placed on the patient's head, and the group of presbyters lay on their hands. The accompanying prayer petitions that the Book may convey the imposition of the

<sup>21</sup>A different opinion, unfortunately unsupported by adequate evidence, ascribes greater antiquity to the prayer. See Charles Harris, *Liturgy and Worship*, S.P.C.K., 1933, p. 494.

<sup>22</sup>*Gelasian*, p. 282, second collect. Its conclusion seems to have been borrowed after Alcuin excluded the prayer from his supplement to the Gregorian.

<sup>23</sup>*Pat. Lat.*, vol. 78, p. 234, and note, p. 520.

<sup>24</sup>The intermediate stage of development can be seen in the Ambrosian extreme unction which, in addition to its own proper imposition prayer (see below), has also preserved a mediaeval form of the Roman one. *Manuale Ambrosianum*, ed. by Marco Magistretti, Milan, 1895, pt. I, p. 97.

<sup>25</sup>"Super aegros," etc., just before the Last Gospel. Similarly in the rite of blessing sick children.

<sup>26</sup>This was so emphasized that the rite as a whole in mediaeval Milan was called "laying on of hands" rather than "extreme unction". For text of prayer see *Manuale Ambrosianum*, pp. 81-2, 96, 149. Or *North Italian Services of the XIth Century*, H.B.S., 1928, pp. 43-4. See also note 24 above.

Perhaps Milan really preserved a genuinely ancient tradition. See St. Ambrose, in *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 16, p. 477.

<sup>27</sup>"... Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob . . . filios Israel de terra Egypti . . . Susannannam de falso crimine. . ."



Saviour's own hand—a pleasant instance of that unaffected love of the Bible so characteristic of the Eastern Church.

## II

We may now profitably turn our attention to the material in our American Prayer Book. What is its origin?

The late Dr. James Arthur Muller, in his important pamphlet, *Who Wrote the New Prayers in the Prayer Book?*,<sup>28</sup> tentatively ascribes the formula of administering imposition (or unction), and the preceding prayer, to the late Dr. Howard Baldwin St. George, a professor at Nashotah House, who apparently submitted this material to the 1928 Revision Committee.<sup>29</sup> Dr. Massey H. Shepherd, in *The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary*, states that Dr. St. George "is generally considered responsible" for our "new formularies".<sup>30</sup>

The prayer is as follows:

O Blessed Redeemer, relieve, we beseech thee, by thy indwelling power, the distress of this thy servant; release him from sin, and drive away all pain of soul and body, that being restored to soundness of health, he may offer thee praise and thanksgiving; who livest and reignest. . . .<sup>31</sup>

Those who have followed the previous paragraphs will not be at a loss to determine the origin. Dr. St. George greatly improved the style and diction of the prayer, but it remains recognizable enough as a free translation of the second half of the Latin prayer quoted above. It is thus a prayer with eleven centuries of use behind it. It is also the principal prayer in the modern Roman rite of extreme unction, and it contributed several words to the unction formula of the 1549 Prayer Book.<sup>32</sup>

The formula of administration in our Prayer Book is as follows:

I anoint thee with oil (*or* I lay my hand upon thee), In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; beseeching the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all thy pain and sickness of body being put to flight, the blessing of health may be restored unto thee.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup>The Church Historical Society, 1946 and 1949.

<sup>29</sup>*Op. cit.*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>30</sup>*Op. cit.* p. 320.

<sup>31</sup>B.C.P., p. 320.

<sup>32</sup>" . . . with the holy gost . . . restore . . . health . . . to serve . . . in body and minde. . . ."

<sup>33</sup>B.C.P., p. 320.



This does not derive from the traditional formulae for imposition; rather it is based on a type of unction formula used in various sacramentaries of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.<sup>34</sup> Its immediate model is the form for anointing the place of greatest pain in the *Codex Tilianus*, a manuscript believed to have been written in Northern France toward the middle of the eleventh century,<sup>35</sup> and in several other mediaeval sacramentaries.<sup>36</sup> It runs as follows:

Ungo te de oleo sancto, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, obsecrans misericordiam ipsius unius Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ut fugatis omnibus doloribus vel incommoditatibus corporis tui, recuperetur vitae virtus et sanitas. . . .<sup>37</sup>

Interestingly enough, unction formulae of this type are closely related to certain early mediaeval forms for baptismal and confirmation anointing.<sup>38</sup> It will be remembered that the oils for the sick and for Baptism are blessed together, in the Roman rite, on Maundy Thursday, and there certainly has not always been a clear distinction between them.<sup>39</sup>

Dr. St. George probably obtained the originals for his beautiful translations from the famous edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary with its accompanying notes, in the 78th volume of Migne's Latin Patrology, or from Father Puller's well-known work, *The Anointing of the Sick*.<sup>40</sup>

Thus we find that the imposition of hands on the sick has a varied history. In the West, it has been closely associated with sick unction since the ninth century, but it has also survived as a separate rite. Both of these ministrations owed much of their liturgical formulation

<sup>34</sup>e.g. *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, H.B.S., 1896, pp. 292-3.

<sup>35</sup>*Pat. Lat.*, vol. 78, pp. 20-1.

<sup>36</sup>*De Antiquis Ecclesia Ritibus* II, ed. by Edmund Martène, Rouen, 1700, pp. 168, 198, 207.

<sup>37</sup>*Pat. Lat.*, vol. 78, p. 528.

<sup>38</sup>Compare formulae of *Pat. Lat.* vol. 78, p. 233, and p. 235, respectively, with those of *Bobbio Missal*, H.B.S., 1919, p. 74, and of *Stowe Missal*, H.B.S., 1906, p. 31. For the use of these formulae in ordination, see Gerald Ellard, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church*, Cambridge, 1933, p. 21. Unfortunately, Ellard commits a most curious blunder regarding the Bobbio Missal, which the reader will readily detect. It is not without interest to notice the "Unguo te" formula in the rites of initiation ascribed to Hippolytus. *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, ed. by B. S. Easton, New York, 1934, p. 48.

<sup>39</sup>F. W. Puller, *The Anointing of the Sick in Scripture and Tradition*, S.P.C.K., 1904, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 331, and 338-9.

to the elaborate ancient ceremonies of preparation for Baptism. Not the least gratifying result of this inquiry is the evidence that our American Prayer Book formulae are no unfounded innovation, but are in substance a millenium old. They are, in fact, as venerable as any such formulae now in use anywhere in Western Christendom. In this generation of liturgical restlessness, it is well to remind ourselves of how long a tradition and how wide a range of Christian experience are represented in our Prayer Book rites.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS

By W. NORMAN PITTENGER

General Theological Seminary

Christianity is an historical religion. That statement, to which we should all agree, is intended by all of us to mean that the central affirmation of our faith, the thing that makes it a gospel or good news, is centered in an historical life, in an event which happened in the realm of time and space, in what Baron von Hügel called "historical happenedness." God was in Christ; the Word was made flesh; Jesus could not be holden of death; while we were yet sinners, God sent his Son. All of these and many other Christian assertions imply that something occurred not in the ideal world but in the concrete actuality of historical fact, and that because something happened, the world can never again be as if it had never happened. As Professor A. E. Taylor pointed out in *The Faith of a Moralist*, it is precisely this "happenedness" which is the differentia of Christianity; this is why we can have the assurance that God is concerned for his creation and that man may have new life to all eternity.

But there is still a problem. If such an historical character attaches to the Christian faith, how do we know this history? what kind of certainty may we have about it? of what value, historically speaking, is the picture of Jesus Christ in the four gospels, both in detail and in its wholeness? It is precisely here that we need a great deal more careful and precise thinking than has been given.

Let us take it for granted that all attempts to deny the historicity of Jesus have failed. The efforts of Drews, W. B. Smith, and others have

been shown, by critics of even so radical a mind as M. Loisy, to be quite unscholarly and indeed absurd. It is not whether there was an historical Jesus that concerns us here; it is how we know about him as an historical figure and the kind of historical knowledge of him that we possess.

Now some scholars have assumed that because it is possible, through sound critical study, to date the earliest records of Jesus' life in the sixties, or even the fifties, of the first century—only twenty to thirty years after the crucifixion—we can claim to have a fairly accurate picture of his way among men, accurate in its wholeness and accurate too in many, if not most, of its details. But it seems to some of us that this claim is made too easily. That the narratives in the synoptic gospels are concerned to portray a life that was actually lived amongst men is indeed the fact. But that the details of that life, as it is reported to us, are necessarily accurate in the strictest sense, would seem an unwarranted assumption rather than a matter of proof.

Suppose that we assume that the earliest record of our Lord's life were set down not later than A.D. 50. There is still a period of nearly twenty years between the events and their written report. During that period, as we are now aware, an oral tradition grew up. It was concerned to fill in the preaching of the *kerygma* or gospel proclamation with the kind of information about what Jesus said and did, which would put flesh and blood into the mere declaration that Jesus is Messiah. It was concerned to say what kind of Messiah he was; what he had taught and what he had wrought. But the point is that the filling-in of the picture was "from faith to faith." There was always the "life-situation" of the Church, as the form-critics say; but there were also, as Paul Minear has insisted, the "faith-situation" and the "worship-situation." The Jesus whose actions and sayings were related by word of mouth was the Jesus who was believed to be Messiah, who was worshiped and served within the community of the Church.

Unless the men who handed on the oral tradition were gifted with some super-human infallibility of utterance, it was inevitable that their interpretation of Jesus, what he meant to them as believers and worshippers, should modify what they told about him. One is well aware of the remarkable way in which Jewish teachers imparted information; one knows of the astounding capacity for memorization amongst Semitic peoples. But it requires too much credulity to believe that there was no modification through a period of twenty years.

This conclusion, which is amply supported by our own knowledge of

the development of the gospel tradition once it was set down, does not necessarily lead to a skeptical position. Failure to see this is often due to an inadequate epistemology of history. After all, what are historical facts? They are not the bare chronicle of events, such as one might find in a diary. They are significant events, reflected upon, interpreted, understood in their deepening meaning. And often enough, as Professor W. M. Urban remarked in an analogy from art, it is precisely by the exaggeration of detail that the true significance of an event, as of an object, is made clear. Furthermore, the fact that the pericopae in the synoptics all seem to demand an affirmative response of faith on the part of him who hears or who reads, would appear to indicate that the purpose of the stories themselves is not to recount sheer "fact", as we like to call it, but rather to awaken, through a story of Jesus' teaching or action, the belief in him as Messiah which was the heart of the primitive gospel.

Professor Tillich has dealt faithfully with this subject in several papers and will treat it fully in the second volume of his *Systematic Theology*. The present writer finds himself in substantial agreement with Dr. Tillich on this point. The gospels give us as it were, an analogy to the facts. By this is meant that they give us an account of Jesus, in terms which are sufficiently like the reality itself to make possible our faith in him; and, what is more, to make it possible to use the total picture of the "biblical Christ"—Jesus accepted as the Christ—for the foundation of that faith in him and for the development of our theology about him.

In this fashion we are delivered from constant anxiety about what the historical critics will say next, while at the same time we are enabled to find a firm historical basis for our faith. It is not essential to Christianity that this or that particular incident or saying should be certainly accurate; it is necessary that we shall say of the *whole* picture, that *this* or *something like this* did in fact occur. To put it in very simple terms: it is not essential to Christianity that Jesus performed, or had performed "upon" him (so to say), this or that specific miracle; but it is necessary, and we have ample reason for believing, that his total impact upon his disciples was such that the kind of belief in him which the *kerygma* proclaims and the gospel-stories implement in detail was made possible and actual. And the same remark may be made about the reported sayings of Jesus.

Furthermore, as Professor John Knox has ably argued in his admirable little book, *Criticism and Faith*, the fact that the Christian

community received Jesus, having first come into existence through him, and received him *as Lord*, is itself a demonstration of the kind of historicity which it claims for him. For we should by now have learned that an un-interpreted Jesus—one who is *simply* historical—will be only a human figure; it is the insight and judgment of Christian faith, confronted by this figure, that in him God was truly with men in a fully human way. The deity of our Lord cannot be demonstrated by historical study; it can only be apprehended by an act of faith, and for us that means a sharing in the faith which the Church puts in him.

In one sense, this means that the synoptic gospels are to be placed in the same position that the Fourth Gospel holds. They, too, are interpretative documents, concerned with Jesus as he is known in the experience of his Church, and telling of "the days of his flesh" in the light of that over-arching and all-encompassing faith. The synoptics are, of course, "closer" to the historical figure; unquestionably they give us, in detail, more accurate information. But there is no essential difference between them, excepting the varying interpretative criteria which were employed by the evangelists, and those evaluations which governed the men who handed on the oral tradition before it was written down.

If there is any merit in the line of argument we have developed, theological consequences necessarily follow. We shall be concerned to build on the *whole* picture of Christ, not on details; we shall rest our case for his divinity, not on his reported miracles or on stories of his birth or the mode of his victory over death; we shall see that the primitive Christian faith and experience, and its continuation through the Christian Church, have a much more determinative significance than we might have thought. This means that the essential element in the total story is the reality of a life lived, an impact made, a death conquered, a renewed presence made known; other matters, however much they may have been valued devotionally or theologically, will occupy a peripheral place in the complex. If devout study and reverent criticism should be forced to conclude that this or that incident cannot be retained as of historical validity, it will not lead us to deny the faith; for the faith is based on something more basic than any such incident, however valued in the past.

Above all, such considerations will help us to a new way of using the Bible—and especially help the simple believer, who is often bewildered by what he hears is going on in the study, but more often (if he is at all alert to the new approach to the Scriptures now almost universal

amongst scholars) perplexed by the apparent impossibility of some of the stories that he reads in the New Testament. We do not read the Bible, nor do we train our people to read it, as if it were a completely detailed report of unquestioned historical incidents, put down with the accuracy of the modern reporter or of one equipped with dictaphone and candid-camera. We read the Bible as a document of faith, a faith based indeed on historical happenings, but a faith which sees more deeply into the meaning of history than any chronicler could hope. We do not want our simple Christian believer, as he turns to the New Testament, to be bogged down over questions of precise historicity concerning this or that story; we want him to read it, in faith and by faith, recognizing in the stories the deliverance of faith on the part of those who first believed, and based upon the foundation-stone of the act which God wrought, in the total Christian event, for the redemption of the world in Jesus Christ.

## PREACHING THE CHRISTIAN YEAR

### V. ADVENT

By FREDERICK C. GRANT

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The season of Advent is simply the period of preparation for Christmas, which celebrates the "coming" of Christ, the Incarnation of the Son of God. It was only after the establishment of a fixed date for Christmas that this period was so designated—where the Incarnation was still connected with Epiphany (as in Gaul and Spain in the IVth century), Advent was not observed; a "St. Martin's Lent" was observed instead; but when Christmas was set on December twenty-fifth, in Rome during the Vth century, the Advent season soon followed in the calendar. Since the XIth century the Roman usage has been universal in the West.

As contrasted with Easter and Pentecost, which were taken over from Judaism, and were originally ancient seasonal festivals with no fixed date (month and day) but were determined by the Paschal moon, Christmas was definitely the *dies natalis solis invicti*, i.e. took



the place of this pagan festival, from the time of the emperor Aurelian (270-275 A.D.). The Solar Monotheism of the Syrian emperors, of the later devotees of Mithras, and of multitudes of spiritually minded pagans in the II<sup>d</sup>, III<sup>d</sup>, and IV<sup>th</sup> centuries was thus matched by the festival of the "Sun of Righteousness" who had risen "with healing in his wings." Hence from an early period the meaning of *adventus* in Christian usage was two-fold. At least as early as the Muratorian Canon (ca. 170 A.D.), Christians were familiar with the idea of Christ's "two comings, the first in lowliness and contempt, which has taken place, the second glorious with royal power, which is yet to come." (The language reminds us of Mk. 9:1.) However, the *original* idea of Christ's "coming", *adventus*, *parousia*, was the latter: it was out and out eschatological.

The Prayer Book combines the two meanings or emphases: (1) the original liturgical meaning of Advent, as the preparation for Christmas the Festival of the Incarnation, and (2) the far earlier, indeed primitive, New Testament significance of the word as denoting the future coming of the Messiah, the Son of Man, the Judge of the living and the dead. Both meanings are set forth in the Creed: (1) "born . . . suffered . . . died," and (2) "he shall come to judge." On the other hand, the popular modern view of Advent tends to concentrate on the latter interpretation or emphasis, to the exclusion of the former. This I believe to be unfortunate, at least if it is not corrected by other emphases and by careful interpretation. For many Christians today the whole area is foggy. We believe that Christ will somehow "come at the end of the world to establish his kingdom of righteousness," but we cannot accept the old-fashioned picture of his arrival on the clouds of heaven—this all seems to belong to oriental imagery and symbolism. Perhaps the ultimate triumph of the spirit of Christ in the present world, before its final destruction—or possibly the victory of peace and goodwill among the nations—or the achievement of the "One World" in the political and economic spheres, together with private honesty and fair-play in everyday life—perhaps this will be the "moral equivalent" for primitive Christian eschatology. To say the least, the doctrine is a serious problem for many persons, clergy as well as laity.

There can be little doubt, after the past fifty years of New Testament studies, that the eschatological outlook which survives in the Advent hope (or in that half of it which receives most notice) is basic to the New Testament. Primitive Christianity was no ethical culture society, no group of like-minded philosophic inquirers, no sect of legalists or



anti-legalists (like the Pharisees and the Essenes), or devotees of one particular view of the Jewish *halakah* (like the schools of Hillel and Shammai), but a group of Messianists, people "waiting for the kingdom of God," convinced that they already knew who should be the coming Messiah or Son of Man (he was their Lord and Master, Jesus), and prepared for any sacrifice in their determination to stick out the coming tribulation and "stand before the Son of Man" (Luke 21:36, one of the "key" texts of the N.T.). Their daily prayer included the petitions, "Thy Kingdom (=Reign) come . . . lead us not into temptation" (=do not subject us to trial or testing in the Great Tribulation that is about to come; do not force us to endure those evils which rob men of their faith; preserve us from the experience of injustice, persecution, torture, defamation, in brief, . . .) "deliver us from evil!" So basic is this eschatological outlook of the earliest Christian church that it has affected every New Testament doctrine—as Professor Bultmann makes clear in his recent *Theology of the New Testament*. Even the Gospel of John contains vestiges of the ancient hope. The eschatological emphasis was not abandoned even as late as the third century, as Origen notes; indeed, it never has been abandoned, and it still survives in the liturgy and elsewhere, as we have already noted. The earliest conception of the church itself, it would seem, was that of the New Israel, the True Israel, the Remnant of the People of God living in the latter days and waiting for the Day of Judgment. The sacraments were eschatologically conceived—baptism as a "seal", the eucharist as a bond of union between the living Christ and his martyr church, a rite which "proclaimed the Lord's death until he comes." In a true sense, no other understanding of Christianity, the gospel, the church, the sacraments, the ministry, Christian worship, or any aspect of our religion is possible—or valid—if it ignores this original self-estimate, rooted in the New Testament.

But it is a question whether this can be made the basis of either (a) the church's proclamation of its message to the world today, or (b) the proposed reunion of the church. There are in fact four possible views of this eschatological outlook. (1) The first is one which *accepts* it literally, in the way in which some of the apocalyptic or millennarian sects and many Fundamentalists do. "Jesus is coming. He is coming soon. The signs of the times all point that way. When times grow so bad they cannot longer continue (Welcome, the atom bomb!), then he will come, riding on the clouds of heaven. Just in the nick of time, when endurance can be pressed no further, he will snatch up his own

and carry them to bliss, leaving the rest of the world to suffer the agonies of destruction and annihilation. Therefore be prepared to meet him! There are many who think themselves prepared but are really none of his! The Day will declare it." This brief summary is recognizably based on text after text of the apocalyptic passages of the N.T.—and of contemporary ancient Jewish and early Christian apocalypses not included in the N.T. But the literal preservation and presentation of the doctrine does not maintain its true relevance, since we today live in an entirely new world, no longer the heaven-ensphered little flat-topped earth of the first century, with Palestine in the very middle of it, and Jerusalem in the middle of the middle, the "navel" of the whole creation. In our vast modern universe, with its inconceivably, unimaginably huge dimensions, measured in millions of light-years, where our own solar system is found to be considerably off center even in our own relatively small galaxy, circling about a sun which is considerably past its prime—the mere repetition of the ancient formulas does not help: for they do not now *mean* what they did in the first century.

(2) Or one may *combine* some form of the literal view (at least keeping the language) with its conception of Jesus coming at the end of history—now millions of years distant, it may be—and some type of modern sociological or even biological idealism. The Ritschlians thought of the Kingdom of God in some such terms; and more recently, at least prior to World War II, we heard talk of "building the Kingdom of God," or even of man's "control of evolution"—though we have not heard so much of it since the war. But this kind of comprehensiveness, the forced union of fell opposites, is really impossible: it suffers from an internal inconsistency which will prove fatal sooner or later, and it surely cannot be the basis of either the Church's message or its program for reunion.

(3) Still another view is one which frankly *repudiates* the literal view. It recognizes no eschatology whatsoever; Christianity is purely and simply a movement of social or ethical idealism. We do not know the future, or the purpose of God. This view certainly agrees with both modern humanism and modern materialism, and fits well the totally untheological view of life. It reduces Christianity to a private practice of piety, to "reverent agnosticism" as far as the ultimate will of God is concerned, and to a mere "day by day" religion, "the trivial round, the common task." All the fire and drive are gone; such Christianity is as tame as Confucianism! But it is a question if Christianity *can* give up the eschatological hope (we do not say the apocalyptic form of

it) and remain true to itself; for both ancient Israel and contemporary first century Judaism were avowedly eschatological in their view of history: God had a purpose, which he was steadily working out, and early Christianity shared this view, inherited it, took it over and further elaborated it. This is something utterly different from the ancient Indian view of history as illusion, utterly different from the Greek idea of cyclical repetition in history where "what has been shall be as before." It is symbolized by the arrow in its flight to the mark, not by the hoop-snake with its tail in its mouth (as in the Hellenistic sculptures of *Aiōn*). Christianity simply cannot give up its concern for history, if it is to remain what it always has been, a historical religion, and one which has taken history seriously.

(4) The fourth alternative is *reinterpretation*. In fact the doctrine must be reinterpreted in order to remain the same, and to preserve its original meaning. (Such is the paradox forced upon human thought by the ceaseless movement and change which time effects!) But reinterpretation of any doctrine is utterly impossible unless the doctrine is honestly believed. Just as you cannot be a genuine liberal if you have no convictions whatsoever, or charitable if you give nothing away, or broad-minded unless you share to some extent other men's views, so you cannot *re-interpret* what you do not really believe. By reinterpretation we mean more than simply finding equivalents for the phrases "descended into hell," "the clouds of heaven," or "the right hand of God." Those ancient poetic symbols are perfectly all right, just as they stand—as symbols, as picture-language, i.e. the only kind of language we can possibly use (see Edwyn Bevan's *Christianity* or his *Symbolism and Belief* for a fine exposition of this view).

What is needed is a reinterpretation of the whole time-sequence, and of the conception of a goal of history, as an adequate expression of the conception of a divine purpose in all creation, with human destiny a part of God's plan from the very beginning. Such an interpretation must take its stand unflinchingly upon the *telic* as against the cyclic view of universal history; it must also find a place for the destiny of the individual, either by resurrection, transformation, immortality, or ultimate union with or within the divine being. It must let us see the "one increasing purpose" which overrules the whole process of physical, biological, psychical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual evolution. It must be aware of our limitations ("we know not what we shall be") but also, within these limitations, of the creative Act of God in Christ ("when he shall appear we shall be like him"). It must embrace the

whole universe, as in the late Professor Whitehead's vision of its ultimate "flowering" into something far more spiritual than has hitherto been achieved (it always was, for Whitehead as for Plato and others, essentially a beautiful system of mathematical relations, a numerical poem, which somehow got "concreted" into physical reality). For the universe cannot be allowed to fall into total waste ("dead matter"), but must somehow still continue to express the will and the mind of the Creator—this the ancient eschatologists held firmly to, for they refused to think in terms of the annihilation of the world, and thought only of its transformation. And it must embrace also the destiny of the individual, not his soul only but his body—viz. his distinct and recognizable outward manifestation—in an eternal life in the presence of God and in obedience to his will; for in his will is our peace, as Dante held; and the highest bliss as pictured in the Christian apocalypse (Rev. 22:3) describes the denizens of that realm of light in the simple words, "His servants shall worship him." (It is said that in his youth St. Thomas Aquinas gave this as his favorite text, of course in the Latin, *et servi eius servient illi*.)

The choice of this tremendous theme for the assembly of the World Council of Churches, meeting in Evanston next summer, is both disturbing and reassuring. For it is the basic theme of primitive Christianity; it marks the boundary between the ancient, traditional outlook of Christianity and the modern; it raises questions that affect the total presentation of the Christian message in the modern world (this "atomic age"); and it is an inevitable one if any real and positive steps are to be taken toward Christian reunion. The rest of us, who stay at home, need not watch idly from the sidelines: let us take up this as our theme too, for careful study, prayer, preaching, and discussion, without waiting for Advent to come round again. For it is of basic importance for the whole Christian faith!

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## CHILLINGWORTH ON INFALLIBILITY

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Despite the work of such 16th century Anglican apologists as Jewel and Hooker in the Roman and Puritan controversies, the question of the Church's infallibility in matters of faith and morals awaited a profounder treatment. It was not until 1637 that the weightiest of all the Anglican rejections of infallibility notions came to light, and its author was the Oxford don, William Chillingworth.

The question was that upon which Chillingworth's whole religious loyalty pivoted. In 1628 he had become a fellow of Trinity College at the age of 26. He was the godson of Laud, who in that year became Bishop of London and Chancellor of the University. To the latter's distress, Chillingworth was converted to Roman Catholicism by the famous Jesuit propagandist "Fisher," Laud's greatest theological adversary. After a period of study in the Jesuit College at Douai, Chillingworth realized that the Roman claims of authority were more than he could accept. He returned to Oxford and declared himself an Episcopalian. However, he would not immediately accept preferment in the Church of England because of scruples over the Thirty-nine Articles, though later on he embraced them and was made Chancellor of the church of Sarum in 1638.

Chillingworth's mind was essentially philosophical, and the chief fruit of his inquiry into the problem of authority was epistemological. Often he is misrepresented as being an extreme Biblicist, but this is only when his famous dictum "The Bible, . . . the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants," is read out of context. He made no attempt to replace the doctrine of an infallible church with that of an infallible Bible. Professors More and Cross, in their lengthy excerpt from his *chef d'oeuvre* in their volume *Anglicanism*, have attempted to redress this standing misprision, but in a sense they have given us Chillingworth worse confounded by starting their selection from the latter portion of his work, scattering dotted lines through the passage, and ending up with material drawn from the first volume of his work. A clearer picture of what Chillingworth really believed would have been drawn by showing the horse before the cart.

At any rate, his *The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way of Salvation* (1637) was to become the supreme Anglican attempt to work out a systematic rejection of infallibility. This involved the restating of certain distinctions already made by Anglicanism, and also the drawing-up of further ones. A general survey of Chillingworth's work shows that he drew arguments from every school of thought within Anglicanism. He turned to face the Roman Catholicism from which Laud had finally converted him, agreeing with the papal writers that the Holy Scripture alone could not judge in controversy, since Scripture is a rule, not a judge.<sup>1</sup> But next he re-emphasised the Anglican insistence on reason and private judgment, and denied the right of one man or group of men to judge for all.<sup>2</sup> Connecting reason and tradition, he proceeded to restate the distinction between universal Catholic tradition and the authority of the present Church, of which Rome was but a corrupted part:

"If there be any traditive interpretation of scripture, produce it and prove it to be so; and we embrace it. But the tradition of all ages is one thing; and the authority of the present church, much more of the Roman church, which is but a part, and a corrupted part, of the catholic church, is another. And therefore, though we are ready to receive both scripture and the sense of scripture upon the authority of original tradition, yet we receive neither the one nor the other upon the authority of your church."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Chillingworth, W., *Works*, Oxford, 1838, vol. I. 167 ff.

<sup>2</sup>*ibid.*, I, 168.

<sup>3</sup>*ibid.*, I, 218.



He then moved on to the centre of his argument against the Roman infallibility claims, at which point he had to make five more critical distinctions before summing up his conclusions. First he dealt with the Roman Catholic argument that Protestants<sup>4</sup> have no means of interpreting infallibly the ambiguous places of Scripture, and that therefore they had no right to hold that the plain places of Scripture serve them as a sufficient ground of faith.<sup>5</sup>

That forced him to distinguish between the church's infallibility in fundamentals (her inerrancy regarding the clear places), and any claim of overall infallibility. Another way of putting this distinction was by showing that Anglicanism accepted the idea of the church as judge of controversy, while rejecting any claim for the church as infallible judge in all controversies of faith.<sup>6</sup>

His third and fourth distinctions followed from his examination of the motives for faith, as a result of which he blamed Rome for exaggerating her claims. Instead of contenting herself with such a degree of assurance in the things she believed as to conduce her people to obey the new covenant (which was all that Anglicanism asked) she had built an infallible faith on motives which at their best could be called only "highly credible". As a result of this failure to distinguish accurately, she had required of her people an "infallible faith" rather than what reason allowed, namely, only a "moral and modest assent." Parts of this passage are worth our closest study:

"But though God require not of us such unreasonable things, you do; and tell men they cannot be saved, unless they believe your proposals with an infallible faith. To which end they must believe . . . your church, to be simply infallible. Now how is it possible for them to give a rational assent to the church's infallibility, unless they have some infallible means to know that she is infallible? . . . And then you tell me, that there are many motives to induce a man to this belief. But are these motives, lastly, infallible? No, say you, but very credible. Well, let them pass for such, because now we have not leisure to examine them. Yet methinks, seeing the motives to believe the church's infallibility are only very credible, it should also be but as credible that your church is infallible. . . . And methinks you should require

<sup>4</sup>Chillingworth means by "religion of Catholics" not that of particular individuals, but that of the Council of Trent; by "religion of Protestants" not that of individuals, but that which is based on the Bible. *Ibid.*, II, 410.

<sup>5</sup>*ibid.*, I, 264.

<sup>6</sup>*ibid.*, I, 264-267.



only a moral and modest assent to them, and not a Divine, as you call it, and infallible Faith."<sup>77</sup>

The infallibility claim of *scriptura sola* was also rejected:

"This assertion, that 'scripture alone is judge of all controversies in faith,' if it be taken properly, is neither a fundamental point of faith, nor no point at all, but a plain falsehood."<sup>78</sup>

Why? Because, as Chillingworth had previously distinguished, Scripture was not a judge but a rule. Furthermore, it was wrong to teach that Scripture was an absolutely perfect rule, as if it were completely self-authenticating. The Anglican balance was reasserted, when Chillingworth went on to show that both Scripture and tradition are necessary, not as independent sources of revealed truth, which was the Tridentine claim, but as a partnership, in which Scripture is the senior partner, and in which tradition witnesses to the truth in Scripture:

"It [Scripture] is not a judge of controversies, but a rule to judge them by; and that not as an absolutely perfect rule, but as perfect as a written rule can be; which must always need something else, which is either evidently true, or evidently credible, to give attestation to it, and that in this case is universal tradition. So that universal tradition is the rule to judge all controversies by."<sup>79</sup>

At last he approached the point where he could press home the Anglican doctrine of *scriptura primori*, the *primacy* of Scripture. In this connection, one more distinction was made, a complicated one between the church as infallible in fundamentals and the church as infallible guide in fundamentals. The former theory he held to be true, the latter false. Basic to the distinction was the assumption of the priority of Scripture to Church, in the sense that the Scripture provides the fundamental truths on which church teaching is built. Chillingworth states that unless he knew of the fundamentals before imbibing the church teaching concerning them, he might be deluded by the church rather than edified. He contended:

"You are too bold in taking that which no man grants you, 'That

<sup>77</sup>*ibid.*, I, 267-268.

<sup>78</sup>*ibid.*, I, 269.

<sup>79</sup>*ibid.*, I, 269-270.

the Church is an infallible director in fundamentals'. For if she were so, then must we not only learn fundamentals of her but also learn of her what is fundamental, and take all for fundamental which she delivers to us as such."<sup>10</sup>

He urged Rome to be so acute as to distinguish between "being infallible in fundamentals" and "being an infallible guide in fundamentals":

"That there shall be always 'a church infallible in fundamentals', we easily grant; for it comes to no more than this, 'that there shall be always a Church'. But that there shall always be such a church, which is an infallible guide in fundamentals, this we deny. . . . For this cannot be without settling a known infallibility in some one known society of Christians (as the Greek or the Roman, or some other Church), by adhering to which guide, men might be guided to believe aright in all fundamentals."<sup>11</sup>

Chillingworth's final summary of his position showed seventeenth century Anglicanism's continued loyalty to the principles of church authority expressed by Hooker and the 39 Articles. Scripture was the supreme fountain of church authority, and Chillingworth held that even Rome implicitly admitted that in her own "infallibility" argument. But universal tradition, originating from Scripture, was needed to attest that Scripture is the Word of God, and thus the dialectic position had to be maintained, against all who would seek to break it:

"The *Bible*, I say, the *Bible* only, is the religion of protestants. . . . I, for my part, after a long and (as I verily believe and hope) impartial search of the true way to eternal happiness, do profess plainly that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot but upon this rock only. I see plainly and with mine own eyes that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, some fathers against others, the same fathers against themselves, a consent of fathers of one age against a consent of fathers of another age, the church of one age against the church of another age. Traditive interpretations of scripture are pretended, but there are few or none to be found. No tradition but only of scripture can derive itself from the fountain. . . . In a word, there is no sufficient certainty but of scripture only, for any considering

<sup>10</sup>*ibid.*, I, 349-350.

<sup>11</sup>*ibid.*, I, 350.

man to build upon. . . . Following the scripture, I follow that whereby you prove your church's infallibility (whereof, were it not for scripture, what pretence could you have, or what notion could we have?) and by so doing tacitly confess, that yourselves are surer of the truth of the scripture than of your church's authority. For we must be surer of the proof than of the thing proved; otherwise it is no proof. . . . Following the scripture, I shall believe that which universal, never-failing tradition assures me, that it was by the admirable supernatural works of God confirmed to be the word of God; whereas never any miracle was wrought, never so much as a lame horse cured, in confirmation of your church's authority and infallibility."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>*ibid.*, II, 410-416.

## THE RESTORATION OF HOLY COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS

By ENRICO C. S. MOLNAR

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The 28th of October, 1414, may be considered as the founding date of the Hussite Church in Bohemia, for on that day—the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, Apostles—in the Prague Church of St. Martin-in-the-Wall, the Lord's Supper was celebrated for the first time in many centuries "in both kinds," *communio sub utraque specie*, with both the elements, bread and wine, given to the laity.<sup>1</sup> This mode had been abandoned by the medieval Church more than two hundred years previously, when it became customary for priests only to receive bread and wine, whereas only the bread was administered to the laity.<sup>2</sup> From October 1414 onward the Communion Chalice became the symbol of the Bohemian Reformation and was its central contribution to the Continental Reformation. To evaluate properly the Hussite eucharistic contribution, we must remember that it took the continental Reformers more than a hundred years to appreciate the validity of the communion in both kinds: in Germany, Luther introduced the chalice for the first

<sup>1</sup>F. M. Bartos, *Hledání podstaty křesťanství v české reformaci* (Seeking the Essence of Christianity in the Czech Reformation), (Prague: Kallih, 1939), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr., *The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 83f. Cf. Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Glasgow: Dacre Press, 1946 ed.), p. 629 n.1.

time on December 25, 1521, at Wittenberg; in Switzerland, Zwingli re-introduced the cup in Zürich on April 13, 1525<sup>3</sup>; in England, Cranmer's *Order of Communion* of 1548 contained the first rubric reinstating the communion in both kinds.<sup>4</sup>

In Bohemia, this daring act was initiated by Jakoubek of Střibro, or *latine*, Magister Jacobelus de Stribo (1373?—1429), Professor of Theology at the Caroline University and a priest of the Prague Archdiocese, a friend of John Hus and an even more ardent defender and interpreter of Wyclyf. The study of the writings of Hus and Wyclyf had led him to an appreciation of historical development of Church doctrines and canons. He studied the Church Fathers, and in particular St. Thomas Aquinas.<sup>5</sup> Having read Wyclyf's treatise on the dogma of transubstantiation and the English scholar's reference to the fact that Eastern Orthodox Churches actually practiced communion in both kinds, he decided to verify the statement on the spot. In the spring of 1413 he sent Jerome of Prague, a young priest who was a friend of John Hus and a graduate of Oxford, to visit the Orthodox churches in Poland and Lithuania. (Jerome, the later companion of Hus in his struggle as well as in death, brought home from his English studies—some time in 1401—copies of two important writings of Wyclyf, the *Dialogus* and the *Trialogus*.<sup>6</sup> It seems that, while in England, he was imprisoned on charges of heresy.<sup>7</sup>)

Jerome went first to Cracow where he was lavishly treated at the court of the Lithuanian Archduke Vitoldus; then he traveled extensively through the Lithuanian realm. How seriously and sincerely he was interested in Orthodoxy is attested by the fact that he not only continuously offended his Catholic friends by attending the services of the Eastern Orthodox Church, but also by his diligent study of Greek during the long journeys he made, in order to examine the original church documents relative to ecclesiastical orders and rites.<sup>8</sup> He even affected the Eastern manner of wearing long hair and a long beard. He did not hesitate to point out to Archduke Vitoldus the advantages of Orthodoxy

<sup>3</sup>J. Köstlin, Martin Luther: *Sein Leben und seine Schriften*; G. Kawerau, ed. (Berlin, 1903), I, 471, 481.

<sup>4</sup>Shepherd, Jr., *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>5</sup>Frantisek Borecky, *Mistr Jakoubek ze Striba* (Master Jacobellus de Stribo, Prague: Kalich, 1945), pp. 21 and 39.

<sup>6</sup>Frantisek Palacky, *Documenta Johannis Hus* (Prague: Tempsky, 1869), pp. 336 ff.

<sup>7</sup>Kamil Krofta, *Duchovní odkaz husitství* (The Spiritual Legacy of Hussitism, Prague: Svoboda, 1946), p. 39.

<sup>8</sup>Bartos, *Husitství a cizina* (Hussitism and Foreign Countries, Prague: Cin, 1931), p. 72.



THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-WALL IN PRAGUE WHERE HOLY  
COMMUNION WAS ADMINISTERED IN BOTH KINDS FOR THE FIRST TIME  
ON OCTOBER 28, 1414.

over Roman Catholicism. In the spring of 1414 Jerome returned to Prague with the exciting news that the Eastern Church had been administering the Holy Eucharist from time immemorial in both kinds, and that this mode was considered an apostolic institution.<sup>9</sup>

On the seventh of June, 1414, the Feast Day of Corpus Christi, Jacobellus preached a sermon in which he proclaimed that he had received a revelation, from a diligent study of the word of God and of reliable interpretations and patristic authorities,<sup>10</sup> that the Lord's Supper was originally celebrated in both kinds. For, said he, he discovered on the same day in Gratian's *Decretum*<sup>11</sup> the Canon "Comperimus" of Pope Gelasius<sup>12</sup> in which the Pontiff expressly condemned all priests of Manichaean errors and of simony<sup>13</sup> who refused to administer the cup to the laity.

This gave Jacobellus sufficient proof that the Eastern Rite was correct. Rejecting with Wyclif the doctrine of transubstantiation, he really rejected the dogmatic foundation of subunism and returned to the original sacrament of both kinds as instituted by Jesus Christ. Jacobellus was ready for a public discussion about the entire eucharistic question, but John Hus, who knew the University situation to be tense, advised postponement. However, on October 14, 1414, Hus was compelled to leave Bohemia in order to attend the great Church Council at Constance, from which he was never to return. (The news of his martyr's death on July 6, 1415, reached Bohemia simultaneously with the news of the Council's condemnation of the eucharist in both kinds decreed on June 16.<sup>14</sup>)

Doctor Jacobellus did not have the grace of patience. Immediately after the departure of Hus he prepared a strongly documented address and announced a public disputation to be held in Prague University. This announcement resulted in one of the best attended solemn gatherings of the University. There were present theologians defending the position of Rome and those defending the stand of Jacobellus, Wyclif, and the Eastern Church. The English Lollard, Peter Payne, gave his

<sup>9</sup>Msgr. Louis Léger, X. A. Siderides, Martin Jugie, eds., *Oeuvres Complètes de Georges Scholarios*, (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1928), I, xii.

<sup>10</sup>Borecky, *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup>II, dist. 2, c. 12.

<sup>12</sup>Gelasius I (492—496) was supposed to be, rightly or wrongly, the author of the Gelasian Sacramentary. Cf. W. K. Lowther Clarke, *Liturgy and Worship* (London: S.P.C.K., 1950), p. 133.

<sup>13</sup>Bartos, *Husitství a cizina*, p. 62 n. 5, and pp. 84ff.

<sup>14</sup>Borecky, *Op. cit.*, p. 26.



THE HUSSITE ARCHBISHOP JOHN ROKYCANA OF PRAGUE CELEBRATING THE LORD'S SUPPER IN BOTH KINDS. FROM AN ANTI-HUSSITE BOOK PRINTED A.D. 1510.



first public address in Prague, speaking in favor of the use of the chalice. Jacobellus initiated a decisive break with the Church of Rome when he closed with the statement:

... Priests and preachers, carry through these reforms in the spirit of moderation and love. Avoid tyrannical and cruel ways. Be wise and careful, but fear not secular threats. For Christ will make Himself known to the lovers of truth. However, if we behave otherwise, we shall be traitors to truth, and woe unto us, should we remain silent.<sup>15</sup>

The Church reacted immediately. At the Provincial Synod meeting on October 18, the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds was expressly forbidden.<sup>16</sup> And on the very next Sunday, October 28, both elements of the Sacrament were offered to the laity of St. Martin's. This eucharistic act definitely separated the Church of the followers of John Hus and of Jacobellus and of Byzantine sympathisers from the Church of Rome, and became the initial symbol of the Hussite Church of Bohemia. "With the Chalice the Hussite movement created not only its symbol, but also its own liturgy which, in turn, transformed a movement into a church,"<sup>17</sup> consciously maintaining a continuity with Apostolic Christianity and Eastern Christendom. Jacobellus still maintained—as is especially apparent from his treatise *Magna cena sacramentalis*—a medieval concept of the eucharist, considering it a supernatural medicine of the soul, and therefore admitting even baptised infants to the sacrament. This remained a Hussite peculiarity for several generations.<sup>18</sup>

Jacobellus was essentially a mystic with a sacramental view of life. He no doubt romanticized the pristine church and harbored an idealized concept of "Catacomb Christians."<sup>19</sup> Yet he had a grasp of the essential Christian faith and consistently displayed a firm stand on matters of principle and truth as he saw them. He went farther than Hus who almost to the last moment, writing from Constance, advised

<sup>15</sup>F. M. Bartos, *Cechy v době Husově* (Bohemia in the Time of Hus, Prague: Laichter, 1947), p. 277.

<sup>16</sup>Bartos, *Husitství a cizina*, pp. 87f.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 59f.

<sup>18</sup>Rudolf Ríčan, *Od úsvitu reformace k dnesku* (From the Dawn of the Reformation to the Present Time, Prague: YMCA, 1948), p. 33.

<sup>19</sup>Borecky, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

him to use moderation in the utraquist question.<sup>20</sup> Hus looked upon the chalice as a novel thing requiring the sanction of ecclesiastical authorities, whereas Jacobellus thought of it in terms of a necessity commanded by our Blessed Lord Himself. And, having ascertained the utraquist practice in the Eastern Churches and in the patristic tradition, he saw no reason why Christ's commandment and the early Church's practice should be placed before a council for approval.<sup>21</sup>

That Jacobellus had been struggling throughout the year of 1414 with the problem of the Sacrament, is apparent from quotations of his various dated sermons, secured by Dr. Bartoš. We quote below a few of them. They are, in fact, the very first expressions of "Utraquist" faith and represent a concern not too much shared by John Hus:

(1) *April 1st, 1414.* Now they subvert our words. For whenever we preach that the institution of Christ concerning Communion should be kept, they say that we divide the blood of Christ and the body of Christ.

(2) *April 5, 1414.* Take ye all of it. There was once a time in the Primitive Church when all who partook of the Communion, drank also from and in the Chalice the Body of Christ. But I do not know when they desisted from doing so, whether through the negligence of priests or others, for it is not any more all who drink from the Cup but only priests.

(3) *August 10, 1414.* There are many who, knowing the truth . . . pretend not to visit church services. . . . If the Church causes them thus to be separated from the source of truth, it exemplifies an authority based on hypocrisy.

(4) *September 21, 1414.* They who oppose the word of God and His Communion, are pharisees as far as they are concerned.<sup>22</sup>

The Chalice became the sacred symbol of the Bohemian Church and Reformation; the purple Cup was embroidered on Hussite vestments, carved on church doors, hoisted on steeples, displayed on the banners of the Hussite Church Militant, and on the covers of Czech Bibles. The Chalice thus epitomized the Hussite principle that in the Church of Christ the institution of our Lord took precedence over man-made regulations, that the Sacrament is prior to the Word, that no communicant should be deprived of participation in the full sacrament of the

<sup>20</sup>*Sto listu M. Jana Husi* (One Hundred Letters of Master John Hus), Bohumil Ryba, ed., (Prague: Laichter, 1949), p. 165f.

<sup>21</sup>Borecky, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>Bartos, *Husitství a církev*, pp. 84 ff.

means of grace, and that the distinctions between priest and layman were not as great as the Medieval Church taught. In this sense the Calixtines contributed to the religious history of Europe possibly the most eloquent symbol of historical and liturgical Protestantism.

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The illustrations are reproduced from *Ceskoslovenská Plastivěda* (Czechoslovak History), (Prague: Masaryk Academy of Labor, 1932), vol. IV, p. 150 and 236.

## THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By JEAN HENKEL JOHNSON

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### I

A tiny figure has outlived the centuries. Nineteen hundred years B.C. and nineteen hundred years A.D. have passed since his maker caught him gathering the ages into a meditative moment. Even being listed as a catalogue number in the Metropolitan Museum could not efface his look of alert attention and quizzical intelligence. In these, he is as young as Puck; in observant patience, as old. More inquiring, less assured than the stolid scribes of ancient sculpture, he is described as "possibly a scribe's burnisher." He escapes the exhibit to live in one's memory. In spite of the fact that the faces and figures of most of the committee are known to the reviewer, it is this tiny Egyptian figure that has insistently come to mind in connection with the work of the translators commissioned to prepare an authorized revision of the American Standard Edition of the Revised Version of 1901. Such association compliments the Revision Committee.

The committee for the Old Testament revision is a notable list of names—able philologists, careful translators, informed scholars, some perceptive theologians, some inspired teachers. Their separate publications and lectures attest their attainments. Their debates in Biblical and American Oriental Society meetings demonstrate their liveliness and perspicuity. Their flashes of interpretation based on linguistic studies which appear in lexical notes in the journals delight the student

and are the small signal fires of genius. Were one to repeat Jeremiah's question,

Who is the wise man . . .

And who is he to whom the mouth of the Lord has spoken,

the honest answer would be, "These are they." Wherein, then, lies the fault that has produced a certain degree of disappointment, for some readers, after a first excited plunge into the new Old Testament version? Certainly the fault does not lie with the committee. Part of it lies with the public in expecting a new translation instead of a revision—in hoping for a translation as smooth and exciting as Biblical fiction, as revealing as biography, as practical as *The Power of Positive Thinking*. And, yet, are people to be blamed? Certainly the Hebrew Old Testament, while not having smoothness and easy readability, does contain adventure, hero story, and guidance in the business of living far superior to contemporary products. Beyond all these, it has intense spiritual quality to satisfy humanity's basic hunger. If *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version* is picked up and put down, why?

The answer is found in the foreword which discloses the limitations imposed on the revision committee. The International Council of Religious Education gave it twice-doubled instructions in its work of incorporating into a revised text the aids to translation which had accumulated from archaeological sources and from linguistic and textual studies. The two directives were:

(1) To preserve in its English diction "those qualities which have given to the King James Version a supreme place in English literature," and

(2) To use English diction "designed for use in public and private worship."

This commission ties translation between the pillar of literary classicism and the post of ecclesiastical authorization. First, to make a classic out of a classic out of a classic may be a cruel exercise in composition, but it can be done just because the original is truly of first rank and any really adequate translation is blessed thereby. A piece of writing becomes a classic because it glorifies the idiom of humanity and makes it continually understandable in any language. But to add to the business of competent translation of an original literary classic, the additional obligation of preserving a seventeenth century English literary heritage, is asking a miracle. Without debasing the old gold,

try for yourself coining out of contemporary metal a Shakespeare commemorative based on

Let us not to the marriage of true minds  
Admit impediments. Love is not love  
Which alters when it alteration finds  
Or bends with the remover to remove.

That is a specimen of only half of the literary task set the revisers. The committee is to be praised for running along as well as it did under its double literary burden.

In addition to the literary requirements, the Council specified that the translation should be "in English diction which is designed for use in public and private worship." This was unfair on two counts. In the first place, much of the Old Testament was never intended for either private or public worship. If it had been, the Priestly Editor need not have labored to make an ecclesiastical redaction. "All scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness." Granted. Note, however, not for private devotional or public liturgical practice. Why should the translator of battle shout, of genealogical table or census statistics, of raucous riddle or of tribal tale, or even of rousing good preaching, try to conform his vocabulary to liturgical pattern? The Deuteronomists might have liked the assignment; not the poets or prophets.

Further ecclesiastical control over the revision of the text was exerted by the circumstance that this was to be an *authorized* text acceptable to all the denominations associated in the Council of Religious Education, functioning through a board of fifty representatives serving in reviewing and counseling capacities. Such sponsorship certainly has sales value for the publisher. Such scrutiny embarrasses "thorough revision." Certain English words have come to wear denominational halos. Once they were expressive of live doctrines. Now for most lay people of whatever denomination the dogmas are dead, but the words are revered. Having a sound of religious profundity and being more convenient than sharp definition based on reëxamination, they have become holy. Both in private and public worship we have grown comfortably accustomed to seeing them in their proper niches. Righteousness, Justification, Sanctification, even Iniquity and Transgression; not to mention Virgin and Jehovah. Heaven forbid we should find them fallen down, replaced by something more demanding, more potent. Such a trouble to sweep up. Ecclesiastically speaking, it is easier to retain a

venerable word list than so to educate the people in the ideas implicit in the old words so that they can again become live issues arguable in current speech. We commend the translators for going as far as they have gone; but we wish they had been less tractable. Why concede, for example, the unnecessary and unbelievable titles—First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth Book of Moses?

In casual coast-to-coast query, the reviewer has been interested to discover the categories of comment about the Revised Standard Version of the Old Testament. There are those for whom Edith Hamilton speaks when she says in her Foreword to *Spokesmen for God* (p. 11),

For the English-speaking world the Bible is the Bible in English. We do not read our Bible as a translation with the original always in the background of our mind. To the vast majority of us it is the very Bible itself; the English words even have a kind of sanctity. . . . The King James version is the most magnificent translation in literature, and there is no cause for surprise that it has been given the foremost place which in general properly belongs only to an original.

To these readers (and most older religious people are among them) the songs of their spirits will always be set to the cadences of the King James Version. To some readers, however, long familiar with the 1611 version, and to most of the clergy, the revision represents a welcome interpretation of old problem-texts, a face-to-face discernment of meaning. But in addition there are many lay people in the church and also many general readers outside of the church who have *not* lived by the King James but who are interested in the Bible, either as the Word of God or as containing a sublime ancient literature; and some of them are disappointed. There are many who were born to the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, and the Twenty-third Psalm in the King James Version and who cherish and cling to the familiar 1611 form—retained also in the RSV. They were, however, brought up, for richer for poorer, on Bible stories and Graded Lessons instead of on Bible reading and family worship. For required college Bible, when they read anything besides assigned secondary sources, they sampled vigorous modern translations. Perhaps like the reviewer they had an exciting taste of the original in Freshman Greek. A few truly fortunate ones went on to Hebrew. Add to these readers the present and coming crops. The King James is *not* their Bible. They expected the RSV to be. If it is not, it is because the competent committee was committed to preservation and revision rather than urged by the churches through the Council of Religious



Education to new translation and freedom from literary and ecclesiastical form.

## II

In reviewing any piece of writing certain controls must be set for sampling. In reviewing a piece of translation a natural method is the tracking down of troublesome words. The article on "The Language of the Old Testament" by Norman Snaith in the first volume of *The Interpreter's Bible* provides just such an index of reference for checking translation problems. In it are signposts of places to stop, look, and find something interesting. What does the revision do with some of these, and how does it compare with the King James and with other modern translations?

The place is Egypt. The character is a young man, "handsome and good-looking" according to the American Translation; formerly, "a goodly person, and well favoured." Whether in Egyptian, in Hebrew, in King James English or in contemporary American, those are words suggestive of trouble. And trouble came. The successful, but moral, young man finds himself fancied (American Translation) by his master's wife and connived against. His now mistrusting employer found "his wrath (KJ)/anger (RSV) was kindled." Probably he was "mad as blazes." The misunderstood young man was imprisoned. There, after a period of establishing good relations with the warden—keeper of the prison (KJ and RSV), jailer (AT)—he finds a possible way of escape. In Genesis 40:15, he explains his blameless past to Pharaoh's bottler who, in his opinion, will soon be in a position to do him a favor and secure his release. The RSV puts his case thus:

For I was indeed stolen out of the land of the Hebrews; and here also I have done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.

Except for the transposition of the word "indeed" this follows the King James. Joseph's statement recognizes and insists upon a twofold guiltlessness. In Egypt he has committed no crime and, therefore, is unjustly prisoned. It is in the first part of the verse that we have the usage that attracted Professor Snaith's notice in his discussion of the seven forms of the Hebrew verb. The Hebrew reads *gunnabh gunnabhti*. The root means *steal*. Both the American Translation and Moffatt translate "really kidnapped." The construction is the infinitive absolute immediately preceding the corresponding finite verb, thereby

giving intensity to the meaning of the verb. The finite verb is here the *pu'al* form, itself an intensive. This is strong language. Joseph is not making casual conversation. He is outlining his case with conviction and knowledge. Not only is he innocent of felony in Egypt but he is not a fugitive from justice in his own country. In effect this is his plea:

1. (a) [In my own country] I did not steal but I was stolen [and sold];  
     (b) I did not steal away but I was actually stolen away;
2. I have committed no crime in Egypt.

It is interesting to observe that this very business of stealing a man to sell, i.e. kidnapping, is recognized as a crime in those primitive and fierce death decrees designated as the Participial Code which Professor Pfeiffer describes as "the only code of law which could conceivably be nomadic in origin" (Exodus 21:16). Joseph may have been law-abiding but he was never submissive. In Hebrew his appeal for justice is calculated and emphatic. Does the revision really do him justice?

Linger long enough in the land of Egypt to pay passing attention to the venerable Jacob. He has been a problem from the days of the Seventy if not long before. In his life he was controversial; even so in death. The Septuagint pictures him supporting himself on the head of his staff (reading *maṭṭeh*) and the author of Hebrews witnesses to the same tradition. The Hebrew pointed by the Massoretes puts him to bed (*miṭṭah*) and both the King James and the Revision keep him there (Gen. 47:31). To producers of biblical films we leave the setting of the scene and the delineation of the character. Did he die with his sandals on, staff in hand, a contending old nomad to the end? or, slipping under the comforts of Egypt, did he wrap the draperies of his couch about him and subside on a headrest? (Gen. 49:33).

In translating Hebrew the pursuit of meaning includes not only the sport occasioned by the problems of the vocalization or vowel variation in the Hebrew itself: it is further complicated by the relationships which Hebrew bears to its cognates, the other Semitic languages. Professor Snaith suggests this complication in his paragraph (*Interpreter's Bible*, I, 221) on the Hebrew consonant *sadhe*. This Hebrew consonant, he indicates, represents three consonants in Arabic—not only the emphatic *s*, but also the emphatic *d* and the emphatic *z*. Hence, in the Hebrew root written *srr*, there are actually three root meanings according to their equivalents in Arabic, i.e. *srr*, bind; *drr*, show hostility, and *zrr*, be sharp. If to this observation by Professor Snaith is added

the fact that the verbs developed from the roots *srr* are irregular in having their middle radical doubled and, therefore, have possible relationships with other weak verbs formed around the two basic or ultimate consonants, it is easy to see the multiplication of translation problems in a dubious text. That is, not only are three distinct meanings implicit in the Hebrew *srr*, but there are whole families of weak relations *sr*, *dr*, and *zr*. If your sympathy for the translator has been sufficiently warmed by the foregoing, let us follow the line of *srr* through some of its O. T. usage. Taking the Hebrew *srr* equivalent to the Arabic *zarra*, be sharp, and arming ourselves with its noun forms *s'rôr* and *sôr*, equivalent to the Arabic *zurar*, sharp-edged stone, we have "flint" and "knife." Snaith remarks of them (*Interp. Bible*, I, 221), "a relic of the Stone Age . . . presumably dating back to a time when the first Hebrew cutting instruments were flint knives." Following the Brown-Driver-Briggs reference through the O. T. examples is a bloody trail bristling with sharp translation points. First there is Zipporah and her troublesome "bridegroom of blood;" then a relentless Joshua and the story of the problematical place names Gibeath-araloth and Gilgal. The word figures in the description of the fighting front built up by the Lord for the Son of Man (Ezek. 3:8 f.) as he is called upon to outface the stubborn house of Israel, that impudent nation of rebels. Here the King James reads,

Behold, I have made thy face strong against their faces, and thy forehead strong against their foreheads. As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead.

The RSV substitutes "your" for "thy," "hard" for "strong," "like" for "as." The American Translation here contributes a much stronger statement of God-given hard-headedness:

But I will make you as hard-faced and stubborn as they; I will make you like adamant, harder than flint.

Psalm 89 in successive verses illustrates two of three meanings found in the Hebrew *sr* root. In verse 42 it is cognate to the Arabic *darra*, meaning "harm," "damage," hence "foe;" in v. 43 (Heb. 43-44), it is cognate to *zarra*, "be sharp." Verses 38-45 are the complaint of the Prince, now become the jest of his neighbors, his crown fallen, his throne toppled. They read like court charges denouncing his former commandant, Yahweh, who has sheathed the fighting edge of his

subordinate, withdrawn his support from the field, and seems to be actively aiding the enemy. The King James reads,

Thou hast set up the right hand of his *adversaries*. . . .  
Thou hast also turned the *edge of his sword*, and has not made him stand in battle.

The RSV follows:

Thou hast exalted the right hand of his foes. . . .  
Yea, thou hast turned back the edge of his sword and thou hast not made him stand in battle.

Neither expresses the tenseness of the Hebrew accusation against a turn-coat god.

It is, however, in the spirited account of combat in II Samuel 2:16 that the various *sr* roots come into full play to exercise the translator. The King James is content with no translation, simply keeping the place name Hel-kath-haz-zu-rim. The RSV recognizes the problem with a properly indecisive footnote: "That is *the field of sword-edges* or *field of adversaries* or *field of sides*." Here is translation perplexity sharpened to a pin-point. And what a tale behind the puzzle!

Gallant Jonathan slain; Saul's shield a Philistine trophy; timid Ish-bosheth waiting in Mahanaim; but the restless captains still campaigning. One day Abner and Joab and their companies confronted each other across the pool at Gibeon. They sat down, one on one side, the other on the other side of the pool. Abner said, "Let the young men get up and be matched against each other in front of us." Joab agreed. They numbered off, twelve to a side. Each getting a hold on the head of the fellow facing him and, his sword against his antagonist's side, they fell down together. "Therefore that place was called helkathhaz-zurim." Does the name come from the *sr* root? If so, from the *dr* cognate meaning knife; or, as has often been suggested from the LXX on, has the text been corrupted to read *sr* in place of *sd*? If *sd*, should it be translated "side" as in the footnote and the American Translation, or with the Greek *epiboulōn* associated with the Hebrew *sdh* "to lie in wait" and the Assyrian *saddu* "snare"? Certainly the Hebrew dagger-play eventuated in a field day of translation tussling.

Such lexical excursions give point to the narrative and delight to the translator, but certainly have no bearing on the religious interpretation of the Old Testament. The words '*avôn* and '*pésha'*, however, exceed

lexicography and become involved in theology. Here a search for meaning can become a person's Pilgrim's Progress. A pair of persistent rascals, like Simeon and Levi, they darken many Old Testament passages. *'Awôn* has been receiving attention in notes in biblical journals as well as in Professor Snaith's article. The diversities of guilt, *'awôn*, are too many to be followed in this review. A clue to *pésha'*, Snaith notes, is to be found in the Hebrew text itself in Job 34:37—that is "rebellion," obstinacy added to the initial error. Although the King James, the American Translation, and the RSV all recognize this in Job, the two modern texts adhere to the King James in Isa. 53:5 where without any loss of tragic grandeur the bitter significance might have been added to if this meaning had replaced the time-worn "transgressions." Lest "rebellion" be accepted as an easy synonym, however, the variety of meanings required by the situations in I Sam. 25:28, Prov. 10:19 and 28:24 should be considered. Here the cases run all the way from inadvertence to premeditated crime.

### III

To splash in word puddles of whatever depth is tempting to translator and reviewer alike, but writing, whether in original or translated and revised, has to do also with the flow of words and with the spirit of the sources from which the stream springs. What of the RSV in this light?

Woven into the narrative and historical sections of the Old Testament are rags of rhyme and threads of song. These are not great poetry and were never designed to be. They are curses and shouts of victory, exclamations over achievement, birth announcements, and blessings no less exciting because on the way to being fulfilled. The King James does not let the old verses sing out in any recognizable form. How could those worthy gentlemen, so soon after Shakespeare's delightful songs, have tramped so solemnly over riddle and rhyme? The RSV fortunately follows the American Translation in letting loose from the bonds of prose exultant old Lamech in Gen. 4:23 f. and the Samson riddles in Judges. Neither the AT nor the RSV gives ear a second time to Lamech in the *-enu* rhyme of Gen. 5:29 which George Adam Smith includes in his study of *The Early Poetry of Israel*, p. 24:

zě y<sup>c</sup>nah<sup>a</sup>měnu  
mimma<sup>a</sup>sěnu  
ume 'is<sup>b</sup>hōn yadhēnu

to get the effect of which we might translate

This will free us a foil  
For our toil  
And our moil.

In passing, note that the RSV here, although it retains the prose, is closer in its translation "relief" to the actual meaning of the root *naḥam*, "to take a breath of relief," than is the American with "consolation." In Judg. 16:24, the RSV, like the KJ, dulls the delight of the Philistines over their capture of Samson.

Our god has dealt our foe to our hands,  
Waster of our lands, who slew us in bands.

Here Smith, Pfeiffer, and the American Translation all recognize another *-enu* rhyme, although the last does not print it in verse form.

Before attention shifts from the jingling bangles of ancient Hebrew verse to an examination of the carefully wrought ornaments of Old Testament poetry, commendation should be given to the translation of verses 6, 7, 14 and 15 of Psalm 59. A Near Eastern night wraps round the reader as he listens:

Each evening they come back,  
howling like dogs  
and prowling about the city.  
They roam about for food,  
and growl if they do not get their fill.

Oracles against Edom stain the Old Testament from Balaam to Malachi. How it must have grieved God through the centuries to have his spirit so misunderstood and his word distorted into the propaganda of nationalism! But there is great poetry in these hateful taunts. They provide an index for revision study. Compare in the KJ, the AT, and the RSV these sections from Numbers, Amos, Joel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Obadiah, Ezekiel, and Malachi. In the short curses, the RSV remains close to the King James, and the imprecatory services of the American Translation are a better buy. In the longer oracles, the two new versions show superb power, the magic of right phrase being sometimes with one, sometimes with the other. The RSV in Isaiah 34, especially verses 11 and 13, sounds the uttermost doom. But the magic is snapped sharply in verse 15 by the use of the ambiguous word "kites" to replace the "vultures" of the KJ and the AT. In these oracles the



commanding quality of the Hebrew has called out compelling English in both of the new versions. Here, as in Deuteronomy 32 and Habakkuk 3, a ruthless god strides the verses; his wrath storming the universe "restoring the majesty of Jacob." "None like God, O Jeshurun," but the arrows drunk with blood, the glittering sword eating flesh, sound woefully like Canaanite Anath "knee-deep in blood, hip-deep in gore." Praise God for that ancient editor who tucked the book of Jonah into the canon immediately after Obadiah with one small question, "And should I not pity?" Such evident translation of the ancient source as the Revision text in Isaiah 63,

I trod them in my anger  
and trampled them in my wrath;  
their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments,  
and I have stained all my raiment,

may save contemporary church fathers from the obstinacy of retaining the error of their predecessors in using this as the Epistle for Monday in Holy Week. It may have been appropriate for Canaanite or Israelite ritual but it is not for use in public worship in the Christian community. If it is, our Lord lived and died in vain.

An examination of the Wisdom Literature should constitute a safe return to the strict rôle of reviewing the revision. It is here, perhaps, that the new version reaches its greatest excellence. Fine writing and fine perceptiveness are matched. Again the close relationship of the revision with the American Translation is evident—in places being almost synonymous. This is inevitable in men of the same generation, trained in the same universities, using the same source, the same lexicons, the same English dictionaries. We only wish that preface to the revision, which recognizes the dependence of the King James on the previous English translations and its own debt through the King James to them, had also spoken appreciatively of the work of recent scholars and of the merit of the modern translations, the use of which is so apparent in its own.

In Prov. 26:23, the hand and mind of Professor Albright may be seen at work. Because of the application of Ugaritic word study, this verse for the first time has meaning. Here the translation reveals a text unearthed from before the Hebrew and gives not only a good preaching text to any sermon searcher but takes the casual reader on a pleasant side-trip to see the making of ancient Syrian faïence. The problems of old age are, however, still unmet in Ecclesiastes 12:3, 5,

where terrors clutter the way both for the ancient and his translator. The sublime translation of sections of Job brings us, like Job, face to face with a God great and wise, sufficiently wise to meet a proud man, to meet even a righteous man and not rebuke him for wickedness but invite him to lengthen his sights and examine his sense of values.

It is in the delineation of man that the revision exposes its chief weakness. Where the Hebrew of the early Genesis and Samuel sources is lively, impetuous, and villainous, or humorously human, the revision repeats the King James in lack of spirit and seems to stand up characters to speak their lines. Perhaps if the ghost of Shakespeare's Henry had walked more widely through the 1611 text, the revision could have marshalled more force. Notable exceptions to this criticism are to be found in the friends of Job, who almost attain personality through their dialogue, and in Nahum. There to "the crack of the whip, and rumble of wheel, galloping horse and glittering spear," real men "man the ramparts and watch the road." Yet one cannot help wishing the soldiers were not still "girding their loins" in a "thorough revision" which it is to be hoped American marines will read. Very little of Nahum's vigor makes its way into the translation of the Philistine camp scene of I Sam. 4. One can hardly hear them shouting, "Fight, Philistines, fight. Fight like free men or we will be slaves to our slaves." How did they ever win the battle on such skimmed milk as "Take courage, and acquit yourselves like men, O Philistines, lest you become slaves to the Hebrews as they have been to you; acquit yourselves like men and fight"?

It has almost been forgotten to ask why Hurrians, recovered from their Nuzi background, should still suffer Deuteronomic anonymity. On the other hand, why the author of the first chapter of Genesis should be denied the magnificent measured march of both the Hebrew and the King James and thrown out of step by a petty adherence to Hebrew grammar and a marring of rhythmic feeling in the meticulous translation "one day."

#### IV

We commend the translators for going as far toward a new translation as they did. We deplore the restrictions under which they labored. For this generation, both in the church and outside it, what is needed is a new translation, true and spirited, free from any pretence of conformity to the letter of literary preservation and the legality of ecclesiastical authorization. Where it tells the ways and the wiles of

men it should be as racy, as rugged, as stubborn and as stalwart as men are. Where it speaks the Word of God it cannot help but be inspired, revealing, sublime. Let such a translation be fathered, if you will, by a representative committee to give wisdom and strength, to counteract individual prejudice, and to overcome the bias of any school or sect, but let it be conceived only in the spirit of freedom.

Let us return to the scribe's burnisher, still squatting in an attitude of expectation. It is time that he be invited to stand up and stretch. Let him go—unapprenticed to revision, not dictated to by authorization—free as a strong man to run. The Christian church—and churches—should be the first to acknowledge and authorize a translation resulting from the free use of such gifts of learning and interpretation as the present Revision Committee possesses. Not a "thorough revision," but a translation, truly revealing God and letting humanity's endless alteration of rebellion and searching become a lively personal experience in the idiom of today. Only so can this generation and the next come and sit with their brothers on the Father's footstool and hear his words and find the spirit to become true children of God.

## CHARITY AND INDEPENDENCE

*By* EDWARD G. BALLARD

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In their everyday applications, the beliefs and doctrines of Christianity are to be found in the most disparate contexts. The millionaire and the pauper have their different churches, each with their different emphases. If one were to center his attention upon these exemplifications, sight would soon be lost of the coherence and interdependence of the several articles of doctrine. In this manner a value would be lost, and the Christian religion might come to resemble secular professional life with its divided and compartmented activities, each jealous of its own domain and suspicious of any apparent dependence upon another, in thorough keeping with the current estimation of rugged individualism. In these few pages I wish to mention certain logical and analogical relationships which hold among doctrines and practices and bind them into a remarkable unity that does not blur the significance of particular problems nor minimize the rights and dignity of individual persons.

T. S. Eliot is fond of quoting the line from Dante, *E la sua volontate è nostra pace* (Par. 3.85), finding in these words both the height of the poetry of language and the sum of the wisdom of Christianity. To contrast with Dante, it is easy to find medical men who will single out this line as recalling the danger and the evil of all authoritarian religion. They argue that complete submission of one's will to any authority, whether man, state, or God is the desperate act of a neurotic. Certainly we should listen to these physicians, for all of us have known, in ourselves or in others, that sense of powerlessness, that feeling of ego-nothingness, which can achieve a trembling stability only by attaching itself leech-like to something on which it can depend wholly. That this something should be called "God" and dignified by public acceptance, merely baptizes the neurotic with respectability and confirms an immature personality in an unhappy solution of its problems.

This irrational submission of the will to something called God is certainly not, according to Dante, the act which would bring man peace. Possibly in the religion of the Old Testament something is required very like a slavish dependence upon a jealous ruler. And in some modern versions of Christianity, where man is thought to be totally depraved, it is argued that nothing less than an abject submission to God, implying an abdication of one's personality, can accomplish salvation. In the Christianity of tradition, however, this kind of childish dependence upon authority is not recognized to be in keeping with man's dignity and function. The nature of the more mature and reasonable submission is implied by a central doctrine of the Christian religion, *viz.* the belief that man is or should be the *image of God*, and also by the ancient injunction that man should *imitate Christ*. These two provide the be-all and end-all, the means and the goal, for the Christian. By means of imitating Christ, man can perfect the image of God within himself and finally achieve the peace passing his understanding. In accepting this means and this end as his way of life, the Christian is scarcely putting himself in the way of an irrational and slavish submission to an authoritarian figure or disguised father image. For God is defined as the completely independent Being. If man accepts the faith and obligation that he is to become the human image of this independent Being, then he is undertaking a task which is the reverse of neurotic. He is seeking to emancipate his powers in the image of freedom. To accept the principle that by imitating the independent Being one becomes independent in such ways as his nature allows is no more paradoxical than believing that "in his service is perfect free-

dom;" nor is it any more paradoxical than to recognize that a child grows up to be an independent person by learning to become like his parents. This same point is made clear by a phrase often used in describing man's salvation. The man who is saved, whose nature is perfected, is said to have become the "friend" of God. Now friendship can only exist between two complete persons, each independent in his own way. It is a kind of communication, a relationship of mutual self-giving which holds between two persons each of whom respects and wishes to preserve the being and independence of the other, each striving to understand the other, and each willing the good of the other. And this seems to be true even when one of the two persons is God. However, the friendship of God and man is certainly unique. What, then, can be said about these two, God and man, in respect of this relationship?

For one who accepts the doctrine that man is the image of God, a cloud of light is shed upon human nature. What is known about God will also be known in its appropriate way about man. Christian belief teaches that God is a Trinity. The theologians of the Church, St. Augustine, St. Bonaventura, St. Thomas, have rendered this trinitarian personality somewhat more intelligible to us by a description of the acts of each of the Persons and by "assimilating" each with notions more familiar to us. God the Father is the Creator, the Being who is the source of all that exists. He is, therefore, assimilated to the notion of existence. God the Son is the Word, the "mind of God" or his intelligibility. He is assimilated to the notion of truth. God the Holy Ghost is the moving spirit continually with us, guiding the motions of the world onward to their proper ends. But an end or goal is a good which one loves and aspires to achieve. Hence, the Holy Spirit is assimilated to the notion of good. These three Persons, then, who share the one Divine substance, are likened to our notions of being, truth, and good, or, to put it into other words, to existence, understanding and love.

If man is created in the image of God, he too mirrors in his human fashion this same trinity. Certainly, however, man is not a trinity of persons but is one person possessing three distinguishable functions; nor does he share the divine substance but his own human nature. What, in fact, can one do other than exist, understand and love? Every particular act in which we engage is a single occasion of the operation of one or more of these three functions.

We learn, nevertheless, that although man fell and his nature became

sick in its very essence, his image of God was not destroyed but distorted, like the reflection in a twisted mirror or in troubled waters. He acquired an all but natural tendency to make mistakes, to prefer illusion to reality. Furthermore, his consequent destructive pride, avarice, envy, and slavish dependence upon others could not be remedied by the usual human means of self-castigation and resolution to mend his ways. Thus we lost both the insight into ourselves and the understanding of others; hence our love wandered astray after strange gods, and our whole existence became powerless and confused. Our chance to understand and to love, and so to exist in the genuinely human way, has slipped through our grasp and, except by the help of God, is beyond recovery. For this preternatural sickness only a supernatural cure will suffice.

To provide this cure God in the Second Person—the “mind of God”—took on human nature and gave us again the understanding and the example which would guide our love into a restored existence. Here, then, is the goal: the restored image of God in us; and the means: the following of Christ. We describe our pursuit of the restored image by saying that we seek the three theological virtues: faith, which is a beginning and a pursuit of a true understanding of the most important matters; hope, which is directed toward achieving our full and healthy human existence; and charity, which is rightly developed love. The last is the most difficult to understand. St. Augustine described charity as the love of God and of all things else in subordination to him. No doubt it is the nature of just this kind of love which will become clear to us as we imitate Christ.

We say that we seek these virtues or habits of action by imitating Christ. We do not mean, however, that we merely imitate certain of his selected acts, such as his kindness to children or his compassion for the sick. Nor can we be content with a merely intellectual grasp of the doctrines about his nature. We mean that we attempt to absorb and internalize the living of Christ at all levels of our being and that we do this through the assistance of the institution which he commissioned to communicate this life. Central in this institution are the seven sacraments, each one of which is a gift designed to help us through one of the crises of human life. The sum and end of these seven is the Holy Eucharist which, in addition to its especial function, teaches in powerful fashion the important truths concerning our human needs and their satisfactions, for the Eucharist is a giving and a receiving of divine gifts, an action of divine and human charity.



Everyone knows that the baby being fed by his mother takes into himself a great deal more than mere food; he also takes in the love, the security, and the happiness which are associated with her and which enable his personality to grow. From babyhood on, eating comes to be expressive of intercommunion and friendship, of a mutual absorption and strengthening. Especially is this so in the Holy Communion where, in the food that one is given, one takes Christ into himself and thus is strengthened and enabled to move toward becoming a friend to God. As one might expect, the rite through which this food is communicated is a microcosm, as it were, of the whole of Christian history and teaching.

The history cannot be described here, but something may be said about the teaching. In the first part of this service (P.B., pp. 67-71), faith is the central theme. There is the Decalogue, recalling and summarizing the Old Law of submission and obedience to God as to a stern father, which was required of man during his childhood. Then the latter portion includes Christ's statement of the whole duty of man, and the Creed. Here is recalled the new belief which sets the conditions within which a new relation between God and man can be organized and nourished, the relation of friendship. Once these essential matters are brought to mind, the second part of the service moves on appropriately to express hope for, and to discharge certain duties related to, the kind of existence which is desired (P.B., pp. 72-76). Hope is expressed in the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, culminating in the petition, "to all thy people give thy heavenly grace." It would scarcely be reasonable, though, to express such hope without making some active preparation toward realizing it. A rational hope, in other words, involves certain duties. The duties which naturally spring from the current state of existence require us to offer a sample of the present, admittedly imperfect work of our hands, *viz.* money and the fruits of the field, and then to confess our imperfections and be cleansed in preparation for the next and supernatural act.

Charity is the theme of the third part, beginning with the *Sursum Corda* (P.B., p. 76) and continuing to the end. This section illustrates better than anything else in the Christian religion just what Charity may mean, and prefigures to some extent what it may be like to become a "friend" of God. It begins with yielding thanks and praise (in the *Sanctus*) to God who has just forgiven our sins. Then in the Consecration, and as it were in return, God gives himself to all through the eucharistic presence of his Son upon the altar, recalled in response

to the prayer of the Church. In the Oblation, the Church offers his holy presence to the Father, holding in remembrance his death and passion, his resurrection and ascension. In the Invocation, this eucharistic action is completed by asking the Father to send the Holy Spirit upon the sacred elements to make them the very body and blood of his Son. As the prayer proceeds the priest and the people, baring in mind this unspeakable gift, present themselves in return, soul and body, as living sacrifices to him. Then in the Communion, God gives himself to each communicant. At the end follows the prayer of thanksgiving for this gift, incorporating us in Christ's mystical body and enabling us to go forth in this new strength and express our thanks by works in the outside world.<sup>1</sup>

The striking fact, worthy of emphasis, about the third part of the eucharistic service is the relationship between God and man of alternate giving and receiving. It recalls the definition of piety offered by Plato in the *Euthyphro*. Piety there is said to be the giving and receiving of divine gifts. Only in the Christian development where the emphasis is placed upon the state of mind and upon the unconditional character of the giving, piety has been metamorphosed into charity.

Charity, then, is the imitation of Christ by internalizing his life, for this is a life of self-giving while retaining one's own integrity. It is expressed as the free and willing exchange of the best gifts of which one is possessed. It is a continual voluntary and mutual intercommunion and sacrifice. One may imagine this alternation of self-giving and receiving to proceed very swiftly, even infinitely fast, and receive some notion, perhaps, of what human salvation and friendship with God may finally come to mean. Here is no re-absorption of the accidentally separated soul back again into some universal Atman or Brahma. Rather it recognizes that one is an independent individual who, nevertheless, cannot achieve completeness and integrity except by a constant and loving intercourse with that which is supremely real. Such is the relationship of God and the blessed which Dante describes as the vision in which all the scattered leaves of the universe are bound by love into one volume (Par. 33. 85f.). And for this, *inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te*.

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<sup>1</sup>Throughout this paragraph I owe much to the helpful suggestions of the Rev. Canon Donald W. Wattley of Christ Church Cathedral, New Orleans.

## DR. PITTENGER'S NEW BOOK ON THE EUCHARIST

By ROYDEN KEITH YERKES

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*The Christian Sacrifice.* By W. Norman Pittenger. Oxford Univ. Press, 1951, pp. 205. \$3.50.

The word *sacrifice*, in Christian use, describes three ideas: (1) the life and work of Christ, (2) the character ideal of Christians and of the group to which they belong, and (3) the Eucharist. Dr. Pittenger focuses attention upon the third as proceeding from the first and inspiring the second. By the term *The Christian Sacrifice* he means the Eucharist as the peculiar act of the Christian Church.

The first chapter explains the use of the term *Church* to define the historic Body of Christ which has had a continued existence from the time of the apostles to the present. It does not refer to groups of individuals who may select or derive doctrines, worship, and discipline and voluntarily associate themselves for propagation of what they may select. The doctrine, worship, and discipline of this historic Church may not be readily changed in accord with the majority vote of the group, leaving the minority to adjust themselves or found another church. Christians are bound together by understanding, maintaining and practising those doctrines (which become dogmas) and standards of worship and life upon which the Body of Christ is established. Because these fundamentals were proclaimed and exemplified by the Apostles of our Lord, apostolicity became the important note which identified the Church and determined the dogmas, the Scriptures, the official ministry and the worship of the group, and the behaviour of the group and of its members.

Ecumenicity immediately becomes an important problem. Does it describe some sort of organizational unity based upon a greatest common divisor or a least common multiple of the doctrines, worship, and discipline of the groups which would fain be united, or must it maintain the apostolicity which has always characterized the group? Dr. Pittenger supports the latter answer which he recognizes as the "high" view of the Church (p. 12), as contrasted with the popular American concept of ecumenicity.

He emphasizes that the life of any organism is one of continual development and he warns against the "genetic fallacy," by which he means "the notion that the meaning and significance of a belief or a

rite are determined solely by its origins, so that development and growth are looked upon with grave suspicion or even dismissed as necessary and inevitable degeneration or deterioration" (p. 27). The development of any organism, however, is not the mere unfolding of elements hidden in its original cells. It results from the fact that the living thing constantly appropriates and assimilates elements from its environment and rejects elements which no longer contribute to its life; and it does this without disturbing its own identity.

At first the constituency of the Church was 100 percent Jewish; within 150 years it had become almost 100 percent Gentile. The Christian tradition which we know was shaped and developed by men whose background of thinking and worship was Greek. In western Europe this Greek tradition was Latinized and enlarged. It is not surprising, therefore, that words, forms, and acts of Greek and Latin thought and worship were appropriated and assimilated. For example, the words translated *sacrifice*, *eucharist*, and *priest* did not loom prominently in Christian thinking until the vast majority of Christians was composed of those who spoke and thought only in Greek. Much even of the New Testament was addressed to converted pagans living in pagan environment. The warning against "geneticism" is timely and necessary but it must not be regarded as suggesting that every element of Christian thought and worship is a simple, logical development of Jewish and New Testament words, ideas and practices.

Dr. Pittenger emphasizes (p. 166) that "the eucharistic idea demands that the offering of the Christian sacrifice shall be for and by and in the Church as the Body of Christ with every member able to assist as a functioning agent." This at least partly corrects his statement (p. 25) that "in our consideration of the Christian Sacrifice . . . we shall mean that eucharistic action which is performed on behalf of the Body of Christ by men authenticated as ministerial priests by those who had authentic appointment from the whole Body of Christ for this very function."

The Eucharist has always been intimately associated with the last meal which Jesus ate with his disciples before his crucifixion. Dr. Pittenger emphasizes that this was not a *qiddush* or holy meal such as was eaten on the eves of Sabbaths and great festivals, but was the last of many family dinners of the little group. Jesus was certain of his imminent death, the climax of his sacrificial life. He bade his disciples continue as a group after he had physically left them and he assured them that he would be present with them. "If this were so, they would

indubitably persist in the fellowship at table" (p. 37). Repeating the words which Jesus spoke at the last meal, they would "associate the broken bread with his Body and the wine with the new Covenant ratified in his Blood" (p. 36). "The fulness of the meaning is to be found in the way the disciples and early Christians discovered that the continued meal, now carried on (once Jesus was crucified) in his 'remembrance', made his presence an effective and effectual reality" (p. 37).

One cannot help wondering whether the development was quite as simple as this would intimate. When St. Paul said that "the bread which *we* break is participation in his Body" and "the cup of blessing which *we* bless is participation in his Blood," he was writing to Greeks and was consciously correlating the Christian communion service with the common Greek worship known by the word (*thusia*) which we translate *sacrifice*. In doing this he claimed (I Cor. 11:23) to be communicating a tradition which had been given to him. Thus we have, within 25 years of our Lord's earthly life, a tradition which interpreted the Eucharist as an act superior to the only worship which these converted pagans had known. Such a tradition, already full grown in less than a generation, would seem to necessitate something more than a spontaneous memorial meal as its origin. The communication of this tradition expresses and explains (I Cor. 11:20-22) his stressing that the eating and drinking were token acts rather than means of assuaging physical hunger. Thus the ground had already been laid for spiritual development of the Eucharist as a true act of worship and as participation in the Christ life.

St. John (ch. 6) elaborated the obvious inference from this tradition. Participation in the Christ life by eating and drinking may well be called feeding upon that life. The bread which had been consecrated for the purpose was the Bread of Life. Thanksgiving for the marvelous transformation in the characters of believers by participation in the Christ life became an obviously necessary part of the rite to which Greek speaking Christians applied the word *eucharist* (=thanksgiving), which had received a glad sacrificial connotation more than two centuries before Christ.

Dr. Pittenger leans heavily upon Gregory Dix and Frank Gavin for his presentation of the Eucharist in the first centuries of the Church. "The early Church thought it was offering a sacrifice . . . commemorative in the profound meaning given to *anamnesis*" (p. 59). Emphasis upon sacrifice, participation, and thanksgiving increased with the development of Christian thought. The sacrifice is connected specifically

with the death of Jesus. This is interpreted by the phrases "pleading the sacrifice," "pleading the death of Christ," etc., which occur over twenty times in the book. The natural tendency of some readers to give this a sort of substitutional value is slightly corrected by the significant sentence (pp. 106f), "The Cross is the culmination of Christ's life of obedience; as St. Bernard said, 'Not the death itself but the willingness of the One who died' is the sacrifice of Calvary." This might well mean that "pleading the death of Christ" indicates entering into such intimate union with Christ that one would participate in that willingness. Resolution to do God's will would never be marred by counting the cost. Thus the phrase would receive its meaning from participation, not from substitution. Modern popular connotations of such terms as *sacrifice*, *priest*, *atonement*, *pleading*, *memorial* etc. rob the words of spiritual value and make them clichés or shibboleths obscuring rather than interpreting the work of the Redeemer.

Of four chapters on the meaning of the Eucharist as Action, as Sacrifice, as Communion, and as Presence, only the last can be mentioned. The doctrines of transubstantiation, consubstantiation, virtualism, and receptionism are dismissed as only partly true and therefore liable to distortion into error. The suggested doctrine is called "divine instrumentality or instrumentalism." "It involves the belief that God *is* where he *acts*, but that his actions involve not presence at a distance but presence in immediate reality. The bread and wine are taken into the sphere of divine operation in such a fashion that they serve purposes not predicable of bread and wine" (p. 157). Thus an endeavour is made to meet the fact that modern men, for the most part, think functionally, while ancient and mediaeval men thought ontally. Therefore modern definitions, to be intelligible to the majority of people, must be in functional terms. The pragmatic method of approach is very different from pragmatism as a complete description of total reality.

This functional approach to understanding the Eucharist is carried into explanation of reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. "The fact that the bread and wine become the instrument of the presence of the risen humanity of Christ is a fact that, once accomplished, does not pass away. . . . For this reason reservation of one or both of the consecrated species for the purpose of communion of those who are ill, or who for some other valid reason are unable to take part in the offering of the sacrifice, is right and reasonable. More than this, the direction of devotion, either privately or in regulated public wor-



ship, to the person of Christ present in his risen humanity through these instruments, is right and proper. Where Christ is, there he is to be worshiped and adored" (pp. 158f.). Dr. Pittenger does not enter into theological or philosophical discussion. His purpose is to present the historic theology of the Eucharist so that the intelligent, functionally thinking layman may enter more deeply into realization of what it means to be a member of the Body of Christ.

It would have been helpful if the author had appended references to his numerous quotations from other writers, ancient and modern. The use of *lighteneth* for *lighteth* (p. 126) and the quotation of the "fruit of the Spirit" (not fruits) as from Philippians instead of Galatians (p. 135) will probably be corrected. One could wish that the book were provided with an index.

### DR. MERCER'S PYRAMID TEXTS

By WALTER C. KLEIN

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*The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary.* By Samuel A. B. Mercer. Longmans, Green, 1952, 4vv., pp. xii + 320; 953 (vv. II and III); iii + 327 + VI plates + 1 map. \$6.50 + \$8.00 + \$8.00 + \$8.00 = \$30.50.

An appreciation of Dr. Mercer's four volumes on the Pyramid Texts must begin with an attempt to gain a precise notion of his purpose. The time has not come—and, of course, may never come—when scholars can be confident that all surviving texts of this group are known. Therefore he has undertaken to give us, as he modestly puts it, an "interim" presentation of such texts as have thus far come to light. They constitute a distinct, and yet remarkably diversified, body of writings, and their value as historical and religious documents can scarcely be overstated. Many Egyptologists have translated parts of them, but, until Dr. Mercer's complete translation—the first extensive attempt in English—appeared, only three renderings of considerable compass existed: Gaston Maspero's French version—he gives a liberal amount of text, but a mere minimum of interpretation—*Les inscriptions des Pyramides de Sakkarah* (1894), complete, broadly speaking, to the date of its publication; a second effort in the French tongue, L. Speleers' *Les textes des Pyramides égyptiennes* (1923-1924; republished with additions and corrections 1934), which lacks a commentary; and Kurt Sethe's *Übersetzung und*

*Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (4 vv., 1935—), a German translation and commentary covering Utterances 213-506. In preparing his translation, Dr. Mercer, taking advantage of the discoveries made during the last forty years, has augmented, and at certain points introduced restorations into, Sethe's hieroglyphic text (*Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, vv. I-II, *Texte*, 1908-1910). In short, Dr. Mercer offers us (1) an English version of unique range, since previous translations into English are limited to selected passages; (2) the only complete translation, in English or any other language, of the textual material now available; and (3) the only commentary embracing the entire collection of texts at any stage of knowledge.

The texts in question have, for the most part, been preserved in the pyramids built for eight royal personages of the Old Kingdom and one of the so-called First Intermediate Period. Unis belongs to the Fifth Dynasty; Teti, Pepi I, Merenre', and Pepi II, with his consorts Oudjebten, Neit, and Apouit, to the Sixth Dynasty; and Ibi to the Seventh Dynasty (cf. H. Kees in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I 2 (1952) 30: Eighth Dynasty). At this relatively early time, roughly four thousand years ago, the pattern of Egyptian state theology was fixed. In life the monarch was a god by whose power the state existed and flourished, and at death, remaining a god, he entered a world in which his personal requirements were substantially the same as they had been in this life. Immense devotion was lavished on the task of removing foreseeable hindrances to a serene and painless passage. Magic of a sort played a conspicuous part in the transition. Egyptian logic did not obey the canons that govern our reasoning. Egyptian ideas had a quality for which the reviewer can find no better name than *unharmonized multivalence*. With no sense of discord, the Egyptians placed side by side partial insights of widely dissimilar provenience and content. Dr. Mercer's expert translation takes us very close to an original in which the solar faith occupies the supreme place, but not to the exclusion of other types of cultic thinking, notably the Osirian. Any observant reader can see for himself that many formerly independent literary units, not a few of them extremely old, have been incorporated into the Pyramid Texts. Egypt began with a finished civilization and labored hard to keep it.

The commentary, printed separately in the second and third volumes, averages slightly more than three pages to a page of text. In view of the extraordinarily large number of problems, almost every

word requiring a measure of explanation, this is not excessive. The compositor and the expositor have happily blended their skills to produce a commentary that, in design and style, is all that a commentary should be: the eye and the mind, retarded neither by crowded print nor by involved wording, travel easily down the page. While it is to be expected that a number of Dr. Mercer's fellow scholars will disagree with him on specific points, no reader will have to stop and wonder what he means. He normally introduces an utterance with an illuminating analysis. The notes embrace many types of observation: linguistic, exegetical, critical, historical, geographical, and religious, to list the chief. Dr. Mercer is constantly on the alert for similarities between the Pyramid Texts and later literature, especially the New Testament, but nowhere does he incline towards the pan-Egyptian simplifications of the late James Henry Breasted. If this proves to be really an "interim" commentary, Dr. Mercer will be found to have set an exacting standard for his successors.

In the preparation of his twenty-eight excurses, which run to 157 pages and form the opening section of the last volume, Dr. Mercer has had the collaboration of six foreign Egyptologists and a learned American friend, Mr. Robert E. Briggs, who contributes an excursus on astronomy. The papers, twenty-one of them Dr. Mercer's own, are in effect a symposium on the world of thought that finds expression in the Pyramid Texts. Our knowledge of those remote times is still fragmentary, but many a question loses some of its complications when we examine it in a wide context, and this group of studies goes far towards giving us the requisite breadth of view. Every gain we make as we strive to grasp the genius of Egypt is a gain in our understanding of the entire ancient Middle East. Devotion to the Old Testament entails a deep and sympathetic investigation of its total setting, and to place Egypt high among the nations that helped to fashion the culture of Israel is but to state a fact. The questions Dr. Mercer has considered differ very little, in some respects, from the questions that emerge from the pages of the Old Testament. The reviewer feels, as he closes the last of Dr. Mercer's four volumes, that he who has pondered the intricacies of the *akh*, the *ba*, and the *ka* is in a better position than before to deal with the involutions of the *ruach* and the *nephesh*. Dr. Mercer has put all orientalist under an obligation, and not the least of his services is the guidance with which his elaborate glossary and Father Keller's detailed indices have supplied future research.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Biblical Faith and Christian Freedom.* By Edwin Lewis. Westminster Press, 1953, pp. 224. \$3.50.

In these lectures, originally given at Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas, Dr. Lewis, retired professor of Systematic Theology at Drew University, has attempted to effect a synthesis of biblical criticism, traditional orthodoxy, and the best elements of protestant liberalism. Whether he has succeeded in his task is a question which every reader is bound to answer partly in accordance with his own presuppositions and basic theological orientation. It is not likely that any will be wholly satisfied with the result, but everyone will find something here which suits his tastes and all will acknowledge that such an effort is worth making.

In the opening chapters the author sets forth the need for arriving at some adequate principles of biblical interpretation to guide the preacher of God's Word in the world of today. The need is particularly acute in view of what he calls "The Emancipation of the Word of God," viz. the accumulated results of modern biblical criticism, which has completed the work begun by the Reformation, but has left many readers (and preachers) uncertain as to the authority of the Bible and the true character of its message. On the question of the real meaning of the Bible, the author definitely takes his stand on the side of the older orthodoxy as against the humanistic views of 19th century liberalism. "The Central Issue" in the Bible, he says, is its witness to the nature and self-revealing activity of God, not its record of the insights and aspirations of men. In the Old Testament God's revelation of himself takes place through his mighty acts and the inferences which men of faith could legitimately draw from them. In the New Testament, revelation comes to its climax in the Incarnation, when the Actor himself appears upon the stage of history. The authority of the Bible lies in its witness to God and his activity in history, and is in no way tied up with any theory of verbal inspiration or an inerrant text.

The "freedom" of which the title speaks is, from the author's point of view, an integral part of the Christian faith, and much of the latter part of his book is devoted to showing that the authority of the Bible, properly understood, places no serious limitation upon it. In this part

of the discussion the Anglican will not find it easy to follow Dr. Lewis all the way, sympathetic as he may be to the principles when stated in general language. Freedom seems to be conceived too largely in terms of atomistic individualism. One gathers that, as long as the individual has grasped the basic truth of God's revelation in the Bible as interpreted by the Incarnation, he is free to interpret everything else according to the canons of his own taste. This may not be entirely fair to the author, but it is hard to see where he finds any objective standards of interpretation. One can test the results of his theory, since the second part of the book contains a series of chapters on the interpretation of the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the other books of the New Testament. The one critical measuring stick proposed by the author is conformity to the "mind of Christ." Persuasive as it sounds and inevitable as it must be to some degree, this theory of interpretation has historically often led to extremely subjective and highly dubious conclusions. In practice it is likely to mean that one is free to reject anything in the Bible which does not conform to his particular subjective stereotype of Christ. In applying the principle the author is led, for example, to treat the Old Testament as little more than a set of variations on the two basic themes set forth in the books of Amos and Hosea, a conclusion not likely to commend itself to many contemporary Old Testament scholars. All through this part of the discussion one feels the shadow of the 19th century hangs too heavily. Certainly the Christian has the right to criticize—and, if need be, to reject—but his first duty is to attempt in humble faith to understand. As in the science of medicine, the scalpel should be only the last resort.

The emphasis an Anglican will miss most is that upon the Church and the continuity of Christian tradition. The last chapter deals with the Church but almost exclusively with respect to "freedom" in forms of worship and ecclesiastical organization. There is nowhere any sense of the grandeur of the biblical idea of the Church as the Community of the Saints, the People of God whose ongoing life transcends the history of the secular world and which is the whole of which the individual believer is only a part. The Bible, and the "freedom" which it offers, gain new meaning when set in the context of "Israel"—the Old Israel and the New. It seems a pity that a book which contains so many fine things could not have included a discussion of the doctrine of the Church which was constructive and theological rather than negative and polemical.

ROBERT C. DENTAN

*A Theology of Salvation: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55.* By Ulrich E. Simon. New York: Macmillan, 1953, pp. x + 266. \$ 5.00.

Mr. Simon defines the task of the expositor: "to explain the text, to recover lost shades of meaning, to bring to life the background, to establish a clear link with dogma, to plead with the reader, and to exhort him to a personal and lasting decision," p. 10.

As with most members of the rising school of biblical theologians, Mr. Simon is more successful in the second part of his assignment than in the first. Mention may be made of his excellent exposition of such passages as Isa. 40:6ff, 43:2f, 51:1f, and 54:14ff. He is aware of "the pitfalls of subjectivity, "but it is easier for him to note their existence than to avoid them. The outstanding example of his *eisegesis* is in 55:1f where in what seems to be an obvious comparison of the blessings of religion to food and drink, he finds a full dress reference to the Passover feast minus the Paschal lamb!

Mr. Simon minimizes quite rightly the place of the myth-ritual approach in the exegesis of our prophet. Yet he goes to the other extreme in finding an "aggressively anti-pagan spirit" in such an obvious metaphor as God the shepherd in 40:11. See also his treatment of the divine kingship on 42:13 and the veil in 47:2. Certainly the prophet did not speak as a pagan devotee, but is Mr. Simon right in making him speak Christian theology, on p. 12?

Mr. Simon appeals to the pedestrian study of introduction as a safeguard against subjectivism, but it would seem that his espousal of Torrey's viewpoint is for theological reasons rather than on historical and literary grounds. Second Isaiah is an advanced theologian conscious of all the implications of his message and therefore he must be placed in the appropriate background. Accordingly chh. 40-55 are from Palestine around 400 B.C. rather than from before 540. The chapters are a unity including the so-called Servant Songs. However, he seems to regard 56-66 as from a group of disciples. Also against Torrey, the Cyrus and Babylon passages are retained and the former interpreted typologically. In 41:2 we have the Messiah rather than either Cyrus (as most) or Abraham (Torrey). Matters of introduction are relegated to the appropriate places in the exegesis, but they are never adequately treated. The resulting vagueness is a shaky foundation for "the theology of salvation" which we are given.

CORWIN C. ROACH



*Social and Religious History of the Jews.* By Salo W. Baron. New ed., two vols., Columbia Univ. Press, 1952, pp. ix + 415 and iv + 493. \$12.50.

Professor Baron's two volumes are of immense importance to the student of the Bible, esp. of the New Testament. They belong side by side with George Foot Moore's great work on *Judaism in the Tannaite Period* and Père Bonsirven's on the Dogmatic and Moral Theology of the Jews in ancient Palestine. The special merit of Baron's work lies in (a) its thorough recognition of the interplay of social and religious factors, and (b) the vast learning which lies behind it. The latter is evident not only in the text but also in the footnotes, many of which are small essays on relevant subjects, and contain suggestions, citations, references which will drive the scholar to the pursuit of still farther quests within the far-flung area covered by the history of ancient Judaism. The opening chapter deals with the interdependence of Jews and Judaism—an inevitable interrelationship, since without either one of them there would be little left of the other. (This is very different from what we see in Christianity, Buddhism, or even Islam.) The general character of Judaism is then described, a religion which, unlike the nature worships of the surrounding ancient peoples, transformed the earlier nature cults into historical celebrations: the Passover, e.g., was for the Jews no longer the festival of fresh beginnings, animal and vegetable, in the springtime, but the commemoration of the historical exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt. The same is true of the other festivals. It was Israel (not the Greeks!) which gave religion its powerful rootage in history, took history in utter seriousness, viewed God as not only the Creator but also the determiner of destiny and the Lord of history, who is in control of natural processes but also of the fate of nations—the view, in brief, which we Christians also hold. All this early part of Vol. I is brilliantly and incisively—and persuasively—written. The rest of the volume deals with the earlier history of Judaism, and recounts the process which led to the condition of poverty, overpopulation, and unrest under the early Roman empire.

The second volume deals mainly with "the great schism", i.e. the separation of the Christians, and with the consequences of the two wars, leading to complete retrenchment in the Talmudic period and the middle ages. Jesus is treated very sympathetically, as essentially a Pharisaic Jew, but Paul not so sympathetically. This is often the case, in Jewish books. As a well-known Jewish novelist once said to me, "I have no trouble writing about Jesus, or even about Paul the Jew;

it is when I get to Paul the Christian that my troubles begin." Part of the difficulty, even for a great scholar like Baron, is that the sources are in such a state that it is hard to read them in straightforward manner and take them at face value: they have to be analyzed and interpreted. Then come further difficulties: there are Christian writers who refuse to do this analyzing, and insist upon taking the N. T. at face value, and cling tenaciously to their firsthand, superficial impression; and they write authoritatively, even dogmatically, and so confuse the unwary! It is a pity that Christian scholars cannot reach more agreement on the interpretation of their own sacred records. Meanwhile we can only ask others to be patient. Do not they also have the same experience, e.g. in the interpretation of the Old Testament and the later, non-canonical literature? But we must add that Dr. Baron has handled the Christian sources remarkably well, for the reason that he is first and last one of the best of modern historical scholars.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*The Great Sanhedrin.* By Sidney B. Hoenig. Philadelphia: The Dropsie College, 1953, pp. xviii + 310. \$ 5.00.

A critical re-examination of the Jewish authority known as the Great Sanhedrin (*beth din hag-gadhol*) has long been desirable in view of the diversity of learned opinion concerning its history and powers—to say nothing of the perplexity shown by the ordinary student and even by the average commentator at the mention of the word *synedrion* in the New Testament. An original study of the institution entails not only the patient sifting of a multitude of difficult documents but also the testing of one hypothesis after another until the seeker reaches some semblance of certainty. Dr. Hoenig is satisfied that he has discovered the correct answer, and he finds it neither in the assumption that the Sanhedrin grew out of the old *gerousia* nor in an unduly skeptical attitude towards the witness of the Mishnah. He insists that the Great Sanhedrin was "the religious-legislative body" of the Second Commonwealth and "its specific nature throughout all the decades of the Second Commonwealth was that of a Beth Din, a court of law and interpretation, a halakic institution composed of scholars" (p. 15). Its character thus sets it apart from the *bouleuterion* and the *beth din shel kohanim*, which were concerned respectively with civil administration and Temple ceremonial. The Great Sanhedrin was founded in 141 B.C. under Simon the Hasmonean, whom Dr. Hoenig identifies with

the Simon the Just named in *Aboth*, and came to an end in A.D. 66. While it was directed at the outset by a Sadducean Nasi, a Pharisee holding second place as *Ab beth din*, the Pharisees subsequently established themselves as the stronger party and obtained the chief office. With the triumph of the liberal Pharisees, Hillel and his followers, the inferior dignity fell into disuse. The Great Sanhedrin met in a room bearing the name of *Lishkath hag-gazith*. The chamber belonged to a building that was situated "near the southwestern portion of the Temple Mount near the Xystus terrace" (p. 81). The number of members, originally seventy-one, was reduced to seventy when the Hillelites suppressed the office of *Ab beth din*. The court pronounced judgment on a broad variety of matters. Dr. Hoenig tells us that "its main function was to probe into the constitutionality of the law." However, it did not confine itself to this—or, rather, it exercised the function in a number of directions—and among its duties we find the regulation of the calendar, the certification of liturgical Torah scrolls, the consideration of appeals, the appointment of judges for the inferior courts, the oversight of the ceremonies of induction for king and high priest, excommunication, the control of building operations in Temple and town, and the scrutiny of claims to priestly status.

The liberal use of excursuses, at first sight an awkward device, contributes in the long run to the lucidity of the book. Even the reader who is not convinced by the argument will be grateful for the abundance of material tidily placed at his disposal. Excursus I presents a penetrating and mature evaluation of earlier efforts in the field. The entire book bears marks of diligent research and independent interpretation. There is, to be sure, an occasional error. 516 B.C.E., correctly (in the sense that this is the date Dr. Hoenig accepts) given on p. 12 as the date of the Restoration, becomes 536, by an oversight, on p. 24. Read *de facto* for *de jure* on p. 25. The German quotation on p. 122 is in disorder. However, the merits of the work far outweigh the slight mistakes it contains.

Concerning the *synedria* of the New Testament Dr. Hoenig has this to say (p. 210, cf. p. 40):

"Other scholars [have] pointed to the fact that in a case of sedition Rome had empowered each local body with the right to make its own preliminary investigation. Various papyri attest this system. If this be true, then it could be assumed that a *synedrion* or grand jury in Jerusalem also was privileged to make its preliminary investigation—and submit it to the Roman procurator. The pro-

cedure of such trials is described by the gospels in the cases of Jesus and the Apostles. Hence we may [assume] that the gospel record referred to a preliminary judicial investigation by a *synedrion* serving as a grand jury of Rome, and [that] this is entirely unrelated to the procedure of the Great Sanhedrin as described in the Mishnah."

WALTER C. KLEIN

*Opening the New Testament.* By Floyd V. Filson. Westminster Press, 1952, pp. 224, 10 illustrations. \$2.50.

Dr. Filson of McCormick Theological Seminary is one of the foremost biblical scholars of our day. The scholar and the preacher are indebted to him for the books he has written and for those he has translated; now he has put himself at the service of the layman and the Church school student by writing a brief, reliable and readable guide to the New Testament.

The first chapter, "The Story They Told," is a brief summary of the essential Christian message; the second, "How They Told the Story," takes us from the first preaching through teaching and liturgy to the written New Testament. The succeeding chapters take up the books of the New Testament in succession, sketching the circumstances of writing and giving in explanation and paraphrase the message of each book. The interpretation is that of a master theologian-preacher; and one cannot but be impressed by the discrimination with which he introduces only such discussion of critical problems as is essential for understanding the main point of the book in question. The literary analysis of the Corinthian Correspondence, for example, is introduced so naturally as the interpretation proceeds that when the conclusions are presented at the end (not the beginning!) of the chapters on Corinthians, they seem quite self-evident. The reading-hints at the end of each chapter, and the illustrations from great Christian art, not to mention the two maps (from the *Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*) enhance the usefulness of the book.

Not all scholars can write for the layman, and the popularizer does not always possess the scholar's fine judgment. Here is a book which anybody can read with profit, and which everyone can use with confidence.

HOLT H. GRAHAM

*Botschaft und Geschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze von Martin Dibelius.* Vol. I. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1953, pp. viii + 380.

Martin Dibelius died in 1947, and in 1950 the theological faculty at Heidelberg, to which Dibelius had belonged since 1915, set up a foundation to collect and publish his works scattered in journals and sometimes practically unknown in Germany because published first in English. His studies of the Acts of the Apostles have already appeared at Göttingen, in 1951. The present volume, appropriately entitled "Message and History" because of Dibelius' concern with the relation between the two, contains some of his most important studies of the gospels. The next volume will deal with early Christianity and Hellenistic religion.

This volume includes two books already known to the English-speaking world, *The Sermon on the Mount* and *Gospel Criticism and Christology*, as well as an article on Gethsemane which appeared in the lamented *Crozer Quarterly*. Perhaps more interesting to English and American readers will be his important *Abhandlung* for the Heidelberg Academy in 1932, "Jungfrauensohn und Krippenkind", and reprints of articles in journals and *Festschriften*. Every one of these studies is marked by Dibelius' acuteness of understanding and sobriety of judgment, as well as by his clear and lucid style. At the end of the book is his fascinating study of "individualism and community-consciousness in the Passions of Johann Sebastian Bach," a study in which his religious understanding of the early Christian tradition and of Bach are fused.

Criticism of these studies would be superfluous. They are permanently valuable works of one of the greatest scholars of our time.

ROBERT M. GRANT

*Commentary on the Gospel of Luke.* By Norval Geldenhuys. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952, pp. 685. \$6.00.

This is the first volume to appear in the *New International Commentary on the New Testament*, a series being produced by Reformed writers in South Africa, Holland, Great Britain, and America, and edited by Dr. N. B. Stonehouse of the Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. The emphasis is on exposition; "technical aspects" appear in (often long) footnotes and appendices.

The critical position of the present volume is conservative in the extreme. For many details, of course, the author can cite literature from Ramsay and Zahn to Creed and Kittel's *Wörterbuch* in his support, and

occasionally real thrusts are made at the presuppositions of more "radical" criticism. But Geldenhuys wants it both ways: Luke is a gospel "written 'out of faith unto faith'" and an "historically-scientific" record (p. 42). The gain is that the "Jesus of history" and the "Christ of faith" are not played off against each other; they are the same. But the price is the adoption of a major premise of the historicism he opposes: both the Gospel and the Christ to whom it bears witness fall *and stand* with historical argumentation. "Criticism" can then no longer illumine (its necessary function); it can only either attack or defend, and it is then necessarily conservative.

Many students of the present generation have not experienced firsthand this kind of conservatism. The reading of such a commentary would be for them an excellent introduction to the significance of form-criticism, and indeed ought to be a prerequisite to any criticism of Bultmann's more recent work.

PAUL MEYER

*The Gospel and the Gospels.* By Julian Price Love. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1953, pp. 191. \$2.75.

In the published version of the Perry Bible Lectures, given at the Cumberland Presbyterian Theological Seminary in 1952, Dr. Love has attempted to delineate the unifying factors in the gospel narratives. His method employs the exposition of the gospel material in blocks which naturally belong together, as stemming from common sources, thereby focussing attention upon the meaningful results of literary criticism rather than upon its methodology. Beginning from the conviction that although there are in the New Testament four literary gospels, there is but one *Gospel*, he outlines in lucid fashion the current status of the familiar problems of introduction. The next three chapters deal in turn with the "Fourfold Gospel of the Passion", as determinative for all four gospels, the "Threefold Gospel of the Compassionate Ministry", comprising the Markan outline as reproduced in Matthew and Luke, and the "Twofold Gospel of an Ethic Grounded in Love", substantially what we know as "Q". This division provides a useful outline for the exposition of the gospel materials upon a sound scholarly basis. Since it is his express purpose to make "available for workaday Christians" (p. 7) the results of scholarly pursuits without obscuring the essential character of the *Gospel*, such an approach is to be welcomed as a practical tool for ministers and teachers.



Two further chapters deal successively with idealization and realism in the gospels. The author admits a good deal of realism in the most idealized of the gospels and, on the contrary, a fair share of idealization in the most realistic; nevertheless, he satisfactorily contends that the unusually elaborate thought patterns of Matthew and Luke produce a more idealized result. He also characterizes Mark and John as the more realistic accounts, although he would distinguish between the varieties of realism achieved by each author. His summary of the nature of the Fourth Gospel (p. 167) brings a needed emphasis to bear upon that document as a testimony to "reality".

His final chapter entitled, "The Unity of the Gospel", is, in many ways, the most valuable in the whole book. It is here that he stresses the theology of redemption as that which unifies the *Gospel* itself and joins it inseparably with the whole fabric of Biblical Theology. In this respect, the work of Dr. Love can be evaluated as a noteworthy contribution to the ever present task of interpreting the accomplishments of biblical scholarship to the believing and practising Church. His style neither talks down to the layman nor does it lose him in a labyrinth of unfamiliar technical terminology. The last, but far from least useful, section of this book contains an annotated bibliography of some sixty-seven entries which will permit readers to pursue particular problems in greater detail.

There is a clear error in English usage, *hail* for *hale* [p. 40], which a closer proofreading would have detected, and a somewhat specialized use of "fellowship" as a verb (p. 181), although this is obviously meant to translate the admittedly difficult Greek *sugkoinōneō*.

JULES LAURENCE MOREAU

*The Hope of Jesus, a Study in Moral Eschatology.* By Roderic Dunkerley. New York: Longmans, 1953, pp. viii + 228. \$3.50.

The thesis of this book may be briefly stated. The author, after showing, as he believes, the inadequacy of six theories which have been advanced to explain Jesus' eschatology, argues for his own, which he calls "moral eschatology". His point of departure is a statement in Cadoux's *The Historic Mission of Jesus*, that "the two facts in question are these: firstly Jesus' expectation, at the beginning of his ministry, that he would be accepted and followed as Messiah by Israel, not repudiated and martyred; and secondly, his deep interest and concern

over the dangerous mutual attitude of Israel and Rome, and his strenuous efforts to avert the threatened clash of arms between them" (p. 24).

A large part of the book is devoted to a proof that the gospel story as found in the Synoptics is generally trustworthy—as against the position of the Form Critics—and that what he calls the three key-passages (Lk. 10:13-15=Mt. 11:20-24; Lk. 13:34, 35=Mt. 23:37-39; Lk. 19:41-44) must belong to three separate stages of the ministry.

According to this theory, contrary to the confidence of Jesus, the Kingdom did not come; instead we have the crucifixion, not because God willed it, but because man refused God's offer of salvation. Jesus, however, was not mistaken (pp. 31, 171); he believed that he would return (pp. 161f). The conclusion at which the author seems to arrive is that the Kingdom will come on earth when man does accept God's offer. If the Jews of Jesus' day had done so, the disaster of 70 A.D. would have been avoided, and converted Jewry would have been the means by which the Kingdom would have been made available to the whole world. Thus it has been through the following centuries. At the same time there is no idea of man "bringing in" the Kingdom by his own efforts (p. 210), and any consideration of the transcendental aspect of the Kingdom is deliberately left out.

But can we do this, when we are considering the eschatology of Jesus? Does the author really say anything new? Any thoughtful Christian is ready to admit that it is man's sin which stands in the way of a 'social paradise' on earth. But this is hardly the meaning of the term, Kingdom of God, in the New Testament, and there is nothing to indicate that man's sin will not continually frustrate the coming of the Kingdom. The New Testament seems to teach that at some point in history God will intervene to establish his Kingdom by his almighty power whether or not man wills it.

There are many interesting insights and emphases in the book, but the general impression of this reader is that the combination of ideas which the author attempts does not quite succeed, and that he does not yet have the answer to the question as to what Jesus thought about the coming of the Kingdom and his own relation to it. E. J. Cook

*Verheissung und Erfüllung.* By Werner Georg Kümmel. Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1953, pp. 156. Sw. fr. 15.60.

This is the second edition of a work which first appeared in 1945, one of the valuable series of *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, of which twenty-four numbers have so far been

published, and of which a few have been translated into English in the "Studies in Biblical Theology" series. A new edition seemed to be called for because of the appearance, since 1940, of a great deal of new material on the subject, and because English and American publications were not available to the author during the closing years of the Second World War. None of the writer's basic opinions has been changed, but he has been able to add some new material and close some gaps.

Professor Kümmel is not satisfied that the positions of Schweitzer or Dodd or Bultmann and their followers represent the truth. He therefore restudies the passages in the gospels which contain pronouncements of Jesus concerning the Kingdom, and concludes that both the expectation of the coming of the Kingdom in the near future and its immediate presence in the activity of Jesus are to be found there. Neither element can be explained away, although sayings about the Kingdom coming in the near future are relatively few and do not play an important part. Jesus' preaching is not "apocalyptic revelation", but "prophetic proclamation". He united the present and the future in himself, when he spoke of himself as returning as Judge and of the fact that the present relation of men to him would determine their status at the Judgment. Therefore, for the believer, the interim between the present and the coming of the Kingdom in its fullness is not a mere time of waiting but a time of hope. The Kingdom is present in Jesus; and his activity and his sayings about the Kingdom as present give the key to his sayings about the future, "because in the present in Jesus himself the coming Bringer of the Kingdom of God has appeared" (p. 145). It is not said how we are to reconcile the sayings about the coming of the Kingdom in the near future with the fact that it has been delayed some 2000 years; but it would seem to be implied that Jesus was mistaken.

The careful interpretation of the relevant passages, to which the bulk of the book is devoted, and the copious references to the literature on the subject which has been published in the last twenty years are most valuable, and it is to be hoped that an English translation will appear in the previously mentioned series. The solution to the problem of just how Jesus regarded the Kingdom and his relation to it, which Prof. Kümmel gives, may not be the final answer, if such is ever possible, but it has much to commend it in not attempting to minimize any aspect and in mediating between the extremes.

E. J. Cook

*Studia Paulina*. Ed. by J. N. Sevenster and W. C. van Unnik. Haarlem (Frankestraat 42): De Erven F. Bohn, 1953, pp. viii + 245. Fl. 9.50.

A *Festschrift* in honor of the seventieth birthday of Professor Joh. De Zwaan, containing eighteen essays on New Testament (chiefly Pauline) subjects, by leading scholars in Europe, Britain, and America, concluding with a brief biographical note and an extensive bibliography. Professor De Zwaan is known to American students through his chapter on the use of the Greek language in Acts, in Foakes Jackson and Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. II, and his essay on the Odes of Solomon in *Quantulacumque*, the volume of essays presented to Kirsopp Lake in 1937. The present volume of essays in his own honor will be welcomed by all serious students of Paul and Paulinism and the early church.

The essays are as follows: Paul and the Pillar Apostles, by C. K. Barrett ("the primary meaning of apostleship is eschatological"); The Text of the Peshitta Tetraevangelium, by M. Black (there is an older text of the Peshitta than Gwilliam's, and there was no stereotyped Peshitta text); Paulus und die Einheit der Kirche, by P. I. Bratsiotis of Athens (Paul found the idea of the unity of the church already in existence in the primitive community); Ignatius und Paulus, by R. Bultmann (a comparison of the two men, chiefly in their eschatological outlook); Textual Criticism and Doctrine, by Kenneth W. Clark (challenges the oft repeated view that no Christian doctrine is affected by textual criticism); La Santé de l'Apôtre Paul, by Henri Clavier (robust as a rule, Paul suffered from weak eyesight at times); Die Messianität Jesu bei Paulus, by N. A. Dahl (the modern emphasis on the Pauline doctrine of the church as the Body of Christ is needed, but should not lead to exaltation of the church at the expense of Christology; for Paul Christ is always the Messiah of Israel); Ennomos Christou, by C. H. Dodd (Paul's conception of the "law of Christ", with its recollections of sayings of Jesus); Ta Logia tou Theou in Rom. 3:2, by J. W. Doeve (Israel had received the oracles of God, but their value lay more in the haggadic than in the halakhic part); Paul, the Apostolic Decree, and the Liberals in Corinth, by A. S. Geyser in Pretoria (Paul did not make use of the apostolic decree, but tried to convince the "strong" party by appeal to brotherly love); The Pauline Epistles as Kerygma, by F. W. Grosheide (Paul's epistles belong to the kerygma); Zur Gedankenführung in den paulinischen Briefen, by Joachim Jeremias (a study of Pauline thought and style, ending with the hymn in Phil. 2); II Cor. 2:14-17, Suggestions Towards an Exe-

genesis, by T. W. Manson (Paul's experience in the Troad explains the situation presupposed here); *L'écharde et l'ange satanique* (II Cor. 12:7, by Ph. H. Menoud (not a malady, but the frustration of his efforts among the Jews); *Der geschichtliche Hintergrund des Apostelkonzils und der Antiochia-Episode*, by Bo Reicke, Uppsala (the Judaizing of the Jerusalem Christian community is the background of both incidents); *De Wijding van Paulus en Barnabas*, by G. Sevenster (their consecration was not a formal ecclesiastical ordination); *Gymnos* in II Cor. 5:3, by J. N. Sevenster (the passage sounds as if dependent upon Greek philosophy, but a profound difference in view underlies it); *Reisepläne und Amen-sagen, Zusammenhang und Gedankenfolge* in II Cor. 1:15-24, by W. C. van Unnik (not the geography but the conclusions drawn by Paul's enemies are of importance for understanding the passage; the use of "amen" implies—in Semitic thought—that a judicial interpellation is taking place).

A magnificent collection! It will long be cherished as a book full of stimulus and suggestion, by all Paulinists, and also by New Testament students generally. One does not always agree with the authors—that is its value! If I may borrow the penetrating words of M. Goguel, written in another connection (*Verbum Caro*, VI. 182), "Les travaux les plus importants ne sont pas ceux qui apportent des solutions nouvelles à des problèmes posés depuis longtemps, ce sont ceux qui posent des problèmes nouveaux ou qui formulent avec plus de précision et de rigueur des problèmes qui n'avaient été posés jusque-là que d'une manière confuse. Tel est incontestablement le cas"—ici!

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*Die Johannesbriefe*. Ed. by Rudolf Schnackenburg (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. by A. Wikenhauser, Bd. XIII, Fasz. 3). Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1953, pp. xx + 300. DM. 22.

In the Herder commentary, the Roman Catholic biblical scholars of Germany have undertaken to supply for German-speaking students and teachers of their communion a massive commentary on the entire New Testament, worthy to stand beside the *Études Bibliques* of the French church or the Meyer commentary which is one of the great glories of German Protestantism. Schnackenburg's treatment of the Johannine epistles is the first portion of this ambitious project to attain the stage of publication. The fact that Wikenhauser has been chosen as general editor is a sufficient guarantee of competent and thorough

workmanship, and our justifiable expectations are confirmed by the qualities of the present volume.

For a commentary planned on such a scale, there is a surprising lack of interest in textual criticism. The writer does not even seem to tell us what text he is translating and commenting, and the section of his introduction which deals with the transmission of the text indicates that he is content to take his information about manuscripts and versions at second-hand. He does not feel obliged to notice all the variants—even so significant a matter as the omission of *tou theou* in 2:14 (B sah) is not so much as mentioned. The problems of literary criticism, such as the identity of authorship with the Gospel, are likewise dismissed somewhat too casually, with nothing more than a brief resumé of the positions held by others (Dodd, Howard, Wilson, Holtzmann, Brooke); the evidence is not stated, let alone considered in detail.

On the other hand, the exegesis is careful, sober, and thorough. There is no search for startling novelties of interpretation, but there is evidence on every page that fresh and deliberate consideration has been given to the words of the sacred text. The comments are independent and vigorous. The questions that belong to the field of comparative religion, so important in all the study of the Johannine writings, are raised and treated with great thoroughness and competence; among other things, Schnackenburg is the first commentator on these epistles to exploit the evidence of the Dead Sea scrolls; he is, of course, the first to whom they have been available, and he has not failed to make use of his opportunity. But the greatest strength of this commentary lies in its handling of the theology of the epistles, and its discussion of the relationship of the thought to that of the Fourth Gospel and more generally to that of the New Testament as a whole. In a series of *excursus*, he offers a succession of most valuable essays on such themes as "Fellowship with God" (pp. 57-62), on the meaning of "children of God, and begotten by God" (pp. 155-162), on "love as characteristic of the nature of God" (pp. 206-213). These, together with the thorough-going attention to the thought of the epistles in the exegesis, make the commentary as a whole a contribution of the first magnitude to the study of New Testament theology. And the style, unlike that of many Germans, has the lucidity of a good French writer, than which there can be no higher praise.

FRANK W. BEARE



*Theologie des Neuen Testaments.* By Rudolf Bultmann. Third fascicle, pp. 445-608. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1953. DM 6.60.

The third and last fascicle of Bultmann's monumental *Theologie* has now appeared. It contains "The Development Toward (the) Ancient Church." It is divided into three main sections: (1) origin and earliest development of ecclesiastical order, as charismatic gifts and "offices" become institutionalized; (2) the development of doctrine; and (3) the problem of the Christian way of life. In the first section Bultmann considers the transition from a community essentially eschatological and living under the guidance of the Spirit in hope of the age to come, to an organized church with presbyters and bishops and clearly delineated sacraments. In the second he deals with the problems of tradition and its relation to history, of orthodoxy and of the canon, and then outlines the motifs and types of tradition and the expression of tradition in doctrines of God, the world, Christ, and salvation. In the third he analyzes the new understanding of the Christian moral demands and their relation to perfectionism, and (finally) the organization of ecclesiastical discipline. The book is completed by a chapter of "epilegomena", a group of indices (subjects, Greek words, selected New Testament texts), and lists of corrections and bibliographical additions.

This last fascicle, like the second (primarily on John), is considerably clearer and simpler than the first. Perhaps the increased clarity is due to the more historical and less "existential" way in which Bultmann treats the N. T. once he has got beyond Paul; perhaps it is due to the greater simplicity of post-Pauline writers. As he points out, many of the paradoxes of Pauline thought are dissolved in the subapostolic writings.

In the Epilegomena Bultmann argues that in the N. T. it is impossible to differentiate kerygmatic from theological topics; in the N. T. there are no universal truths but only words addressed to a concrete situation. These can be understood only by one who is willing to consider the self-understanding provoked by the N. T. (essentially the Pauline epistles?) as a possibility for his own self-understanding which is given only to faith. And he argues that previous methods of dealing with N. T. theology have failed because of their "orthodoxy", rationalism, or relativism. He claims that his own study stands in the tradition of historical-critical and *religionsgeschichtlich* research but tries to correct earlier errors by taking the N. T. seriously as an interpretation of human existence.

Bultmann's conclusions are not unlike those of F. C. Grant in his *Introduction to N. T. Thought*, which he frequently cites in his bibliographies. They are different from the more mythological interpretation of E. Stauffer's *Neutestamentliche Theologie*; but it may be urged that the differences are primarily matters of emphasis. Stauffer stresses the archaic; Bultmann, what is more comprehensible today. It may seem obvious to say so, but both emphases are needed in the historical study of the N. T.

No student can afford to miss this book, although English-speaking scholars may prefer to wait for the completion of the translation by Professor K. Grobel of Vanderbilt. They may not agree on every detail (is Colossians really post-Pauline?), but they will find Bultmann unfailingly stimulating.

ROBERT M. GRANT

*Die Entstehung der Lehre vom Heiligen Geist.* By Theodor R  sch. Z  rich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1952, pp. 143.

This is a "theological" treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in three writers of the second century: Ignatius, Theophilus, and Irenaeus. It begins with an explanation of the author's avoidance of *Religionsgeschichte*, a sketch of some previous discussions of the Spirit in second-century thought, and a summary of the New Testament doctrine, to which the author relates that of his three writers. He concludes that they alter New Testament doctrine very little and that they proclaim a trinitarian faith, though only an "economic" one.

The Spirit of God rules over the spirit of men. Man remains man, and does not become a half-divine or divine being. (Yet Theophilus says that had Adam obeyed God he would have become *theos*.) The Spirit is especially active in the work of revelation. It is the gift of God, and takes man into a personal relation with God. All the gifts of the Spirit are signs of the present Lord, who builds up his community through the Spirit. The life of the church is thus founded on the Spirit.

It is evident that this picture of the Spirit does not do justice, or perhaps does more than justice, to Ignatius and Theophilus. The thought of neither writer can be understood apart from the gnosticism and philosophy around them, and R  sch explicitly refuses to discuss these environmental factors. He does not discuss the provocative and semi-gnostic doctrine of the Holy Spirit which Tatian sets forth, a doctrine

in some ways close to that of Irenaeus. In his effort to show the close relation of these writers to the New Testament he neglects their individuality.

ROBERT M. GRANT

*Le baptême chrétien au second siècle (La théologie des pères).* By André Benoit. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1953.

This is an excellent study of the topic described in the title: Christian baptism in the second century, though Benoit neglects gnosticism and in dealing with the apologists concentrates too exclusively on Justin. Had he dealt more fully with Tatian and Clement's *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, he would have found that Irenaeus' idea that the believer receives back at baptism the lost "image of God" is not Irenaeus' own. It comes from the church before him.

Benoit traces the Christian development from Jewish proselyte-baptism, as in the Didache, through the apostolic fathers to Irenaeus. Justin, he convincingly argues, is not a witness for confirmation as distinct from baptism. The "seal" of which Hermas, II Clement, and Irenaeus speak is baptism itself.

His work suggests that we can hope for much more illumination of early Christian life from the faculty at Strasbourg.

ROBERT M. GRANT

*Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament.* By Eduard Lohse. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951, pp. 108. DM. 8.40.

By a close and systematic examination of the rabbinical materials and an exegesis of the sparse and somewhat enigmatic New Testament passages which bear upon the matter, Lohse arrives at the conclusion that the rite of the laying on of hands was carried over into the practice of the early church from Judaism. The Jewish evidence, unfortunately, is late; the earliest example of ordination is from the second half of the first century A.D. From that time on, examples are frequent; but they are all cases of the ordination of a scholar by the Rabbi who has been his master. Lohse is probably right in claiming that the practice of ordination and the use of the rite of laying on of hands are older than these first evidences which can be produced, since they suggest an accepted practice rather than something recently inaugurated; he holds further that the adoption of the rite by the Christian church is in itself a clear indication that it was of old establishment in Judaism.

It does seem to be necessary, however, to raise the question whether the rabbinical materials are sufficiently wide in their interest to justify us in supposing that the kind of ordination to which they refer was the only kind of ordination practiced in Judaism in the days before the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple left the priesthood with no means of functioning. It does not seem probable, offhand, that the church would adopt for the ordination of its ministry a rite which was exclusively employed in Judaism for the maintenance of a succession of authorized guardians of traditional lore. Whatever view one takes of the early history of the Christian ministry, it will not be suggested that the maintenance of tradition was its *primary* function. Christianity has nothing corresponding to the institution of Scribism, and nothing really parallel to the rabbinical schools; and it is hard to see that any light at all is thrown on the meaning attached to ordination by the early Christians from these indications of what it was taken to mean by the Rabbis and their disciples.

It must be felt, then, that even this most exhaustive investigation of the Jewish background of the Christian rite of ordination does not add anything significant to our understanding of the meaning and purpose attached to the laying on of hands in the early church. For this somewhat disappointing but not altogether surprising result the author of the dissertation is not at all to blame; he could not make bricks without straw. In his own words, "die Quellen lassen es einfach nicht zu, ein absolut deutliches Bild zu gewinnen" (p. 98).

FRANK W. BEARE

*Schism in the Early Church.* By S. L. Greenslade. Harper, pp. 247. \$3.75.

Even church historians often speak nostalgically of "the undivided church" of ancient times, usually in order to contrast it with our present divisions. Professor Greenslade has devoted these Edward Cadbury Lectures to an examination of the actual situation in relation to (1) the definition of schism, (2) its causes, (3) the response of the "great church", and (4) the consequences. He points out that in antiquity it was exceedingly difficult to differentiate schism from heresy, but that the basic point was that disunion of any sort was sin. Schisms arose from "secular" causes, now called "non-theological factors;" these included personal rivalries and animosities, national-social-economic causes, and the rivalry of sees. Specifically ecclesiastical causes included liturgical disputes (not very important) and the problem of

discipline sharpened by puritan movements; one might almost say that puritanism is the mother of schism. The church replied sometimes with coercion, once its relation with the state was close; with negotiation and discipline, along with concessions, especially in regard to the status of clergy who had left the church; and (sometimes) with theological reconsideration. The validity of Donatist orders presents the best example, but it is an example with unfortunate consequences, since it led Augustine beyond Cyprian into theological distinctions which were subtle but unchristian.

The consequence of schism is further schism and the accentuation of differences. To be sure, it has a good feature, in that the sect develops its own strength and preserves liberty. On balance, however, the effect is bad. Greenslade concludes with positive recommendations for the present schism of the church(es): we need (1) intercommunion and (2) a "theology of disunity." He adds a useful synopsis of schisms and a bibliography.

His conclusion is that "the one holy catholic and apostolic Church exists, on earth, in its divisions, comprising a number of communions which unequally manifest and live by various elements in full Christianity. It follows . . . that the catholicity of any such communion and the reality, validity and efficacy of its ministry and sacraments, cannot be judged simply by patristic yardsticks." It is hard to disagree with this statement, and surely its implications are equally true: there is nothing in the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the churches today which can be judged *simply* by patristic yardsticks. The spirit of the fathers is always more significant than the letter. Their zeal for unity is more meaningful than the means they employed to achieve it.

Greenslade's book deserves careful study not only by those primarily concerned with the Christian past but also by those who are and will be responsible for future development.

ROBERT M. GRANT

*Western Canon Law.* By Robert C. Mortimer. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953, pp. 92. \$2.00.

One great value in the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Canon Law published in 1946 by the S. P. C. K. was the history it contained. The chairman of the commission, the Archbishop of York, placed us still further in his debt by including an admirable epitome of this history in his book, *Church and State in England* (1950). These two works enable the student of the Constitutions and Canons of the

American Episcopal Church to obtain in short compass an historical background to the subject. The Bishop of Exeter, however, has done still better. In the six lectures sponsored jointly by the Church Divinity School of the Pacific and the Law School and delivered at the University of California in 1951, Bishop Mortimer has made all this material "come alive."

He has done so by sketching in events and details. For instance, the Celtic Penitentials came out of and in turn produced a Pelagian moral outlook. To extricate the Gallican Church from this and to get back to the more truly evangelical basis of the classical tradition of Canon Law, the legal writers in their desperation invented a good part of the material now called the Forged Decretals and the Forged Capitularies. In the law of the English Church after the Reformation, on the whole, the sections taken away from the Canon Law and dealt with by Parliament are matters of which Church authorities will rejoice to be relieved—the probate of wills, judgments of the validity of marriage contracts, defamation, offenses against sexual morality, and the trial of clergymen accused of criminal action. On the other hand there is no basis for the modern opinion that Canon Law binds only the clergy and not the laity. The Parliament, Bishop Mortimer thinks, shows increasing willingness to allow liberty to the laymen in the Church Assembly to carry the burden of representation of the lay membership of the Church of England in this field.

The chief merit of this little book, however, lies in the last chapter in which the difference in *esprit* between Canon and Civil Law is developed and richly illustrated. The place and function of custom in the law of the Church, a subject to which Bishop Kirk introduced us in 1927 by his *Conscience and Its Problems*, is carried several steps further. The Western Church is not without a parallel to the Eastern Church's 'economy'. Here it is, and it is a topic congenial to a moral theologian—and such Bishop Mortimer essentially is.

In illustration of one way in which custom may defy explicit legislation and in process of time may itself be enacted into Canons, the Bishop of Exeter cites the reintroduction of eucharistic vestments into Anglican Churches during the last hundred years. This reviewer would like to learn by what process Bishop Frere's opinion has been refuted. He taught that while English Church Law did not directly order the exclusive use of the traditional vestments, it did allow them as one of two options. No doubt the practice over the last century has reënforced this construction of the law to a point where it can be set forth



in unmistakable terms in the new revision of the canons; but a construction of law in contradiction to a dominant legal school's idea is hardly the same as a defiance of law. Other instances of the force of custom are more felicitous.

Those who teach Christian Ethics or Canon Law in our seminaries will do well not to pass up this book.

HOWARD HENRY HASSINGER

*Götter und Menschen Homers.* By Hubert Schrade. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1952, pp. 314 + 49 pl. DM 19.80.

The importance of Homer for Greek religious thought is indisputable—one cannot understand it without him; as well try to understand Hebrew religious thought, or Judaism, without Genesis and Exodus! In view of the immense importance of Greek religious thought for Christian, not only in the patristic age but also later, the importance of Homer for Christian thinking is—or ought to be—very real. But for a generation now we in the English-speaking world and many outside it have been led to believe that Homer was a rationalist who poked fun at the gods. As Gilbert Murray described him—or rather “them”, for Murray, a partitionist and traditionist, substituted the *Homeridae* for Homer—the collection of lays and ballads which formed the basis of Homeric poesy underwent the baleful “Milesian influence” of rationalism and skepticism and free morals, with the consequence that the Homeric gods were left too, too human, while mankind was viewed as in the grip of a dark, irrational, incomprehensible Moira. Some of the other “sociological” interpreters of Greek religion took a similar view. On the other hand, the unitarians, men like the late John Scott of Northwestern, who wrote what is still the most complete defense of the unity of Homer, took seriously the description of Homer’s “religion” and were able to detect a golden thread running through the whole epos—an archaic conception of religion, together with echoes and overtones of its actual practice, which tallied somewhat better with what we otherwise know to have been Greek religion at that early stage. (Not quite the stage of early mankind, as Macaulay supposed, but early enough, relatively to the rest of Greek religion.) It is with all this in mind that the English-speaking student will take up the new book by Hubert Schrade.

In an earlier work, *Der Verborgene Gott*, the author studied the conception of God and man held in ancient Israel and the Near East, esp.

in relation to art; the present work does the same for the Homeric world. He finds the ordinary interpretation of Homer, prevalent today, an impossible one—for one thing it cannot account for the veneration with which Homer was viewed in antiquity, or for the influence he exerted upon the noblest religious minds, even upon Plato, though he rejected his views and banned all poets from the Ideal Republic. Instead, Homer is to be credited with a genuine religion and a thoroughly earnest faith. The conceptions which dominated Homer's world were through and through religious. Greek art undertook to translate these conceptions into figures of plastic form and undying permanence: it "gave to Homer's characters, in the depth of their awareness of human transience, the certainty of immortality." This is a noble book, and one which will surely do much to reverse the tide—an ebb tide which has left behind it a barren shore for too long a period in the modern study of ancient religion.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste. III. Les doctrines de l'âme.* By A.-J. Festugière, O.P. Paris VI (90 Rue Bonaparte): Gabalda, 1953, pp. xiv + 314. Fr. 2000.

God and the soul—these are the two foci of the Hermetic ellipse, the ellipse which marks the borders of Graeco-Roman and early Christian theology. In previous volumes of this series Festugière has examined the religious-theosophical background of Hermetism and the philosophical notion of the cosmic God. He has stressed the commonplace "topics" of Hellenistic thought on which various writers create variations. It is safe to say that the early development of Christian theology cannot be understood without reference to this series, which will be concluded by a volume on the "unknown God" and gnosis.

The present volume deals with the soul and contains valuable translations (with commentaries) of Iamblichus' *Treatise on the Soul* and Porphyry's work *On the Animation of the Embryo*. Both works provide prime examples of Hellenistic philosophical discussion of these themes, especially since, like most Hellenistic writings, they are more traditional than original.

Festugière begins with the framework of treatises on the soul and the framework of Hermetic gnosis. He finds his best example for the first point in Tertullian, *De anima*, and then correlates its outline with Hermetic doctrines. He goes on to provide very full discussions of (1) the celestial origin of the soul, (2) its fall, (3) its lot while incarnate, and (4) eschatology.

In each chapter he makes clear distinctions between various kinds of doctrines found in the Hermetic writings, and argues constantly that everything can be explained on the basis of Greek rather than oriental thought. The ultimate source of Hermetism, middle Platonism (naturally!) and gnosis is Plato. Here he has to take up arms against Harold Cherniss of Princeton, who has denied that in the *Timaeus* Plato regarded matter as essentially disorderly, and that therefore matter could come to be regarded as evil. Festugière claims that while Plato's doctrine is less dualistic in the *Laws*, it is not possible to use the *Laws* to interpret the *Timaeus*. In any event, in the second century of our era the *Timaeus* was often considered dualistic.

The most important feature of this book is its insistence on the "topics" of Graeco-Roman thought. Unless modern readers read with the topics in mind they will fail to appreciate what is old and what is new in Hermetism, Neoplatonism, and Christian theology. No theological library can afford to miss these volumes.

ROBERT M. GRANT

*Tibetan Religious Art.* By Antoinette K. Gordon. Columbia Univ. Press, 1952, pp. xii + 104. \$10.00.

Mrs. Gordon, an associate in anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History and the author of *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism* (1939), presents in this volume a variety of Tibetan religious art forms—temple paintings, images, wood blocks, votive tablets, ritual objects, robes, masks, musical instruments, jewelry, butter sculpture, *mandala* (diagrams), and calligraphy—with excellent illustrations and explanations. The book is by far the best and easiest guide for laymen to the hitherto little known Tibetan religious art. Even purely from an artistic point of view, one is amazed at the quality and beauty of Tibetan art. But the priest-artist in Tibet "regards his work, not as a work of art, but as a vehicle for expressing in a world of form the metaphysical concepts of *The Religion* [Lamaism]" (p. vii). Therefore, an adequate understanding of Tibetan art depends largely on understanding of Tibetan religion.

The most baffling feature of Tibetan religion is the curious mixture of Buddhism and a pre-Buddhist native religion—Pön—a Shamanistic faith of demonolatry and nature worship which is still professed in eastern and southeastern Tibet. The author gives an excellent illustra-

tion of Pön influence upon Buddhism on p. 84 (the picture of "Black Hat Dancer") but otherwise deals very little with this aspect.

Throughout the book, Mrs. Gordon treats Lamaism as a form of, and a peculiar form of, Mahayana Buddhism, but she does not discuss why Lamaism is so radically different from the Mahayana Buddhism of China and Japan. She simply states, "In the esoteric doctrine the metaphysical concepts are more complicated and are comprehended only by the higher lamas" (p. 20). This reviewer feels that an understanding of esoteric Buddhism (Vajrayana or Mantrayana) is the key to understanding Tibetan religious art. We hope Mrs. Gordon will elaborate this point in her next publication.

JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA

*The Christian Attitude to Other Religions.* By E. C. Dewick, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953, pp. vi + 220. \$5.00.

This small book raises a number of pertinent questions concerning Christian missionary policy and practice. Dr. Dewick begins with the question of the Christian attitude to the political and secular semi-religions—Communism, Nazism, Fascism, Nationalism, and Imperialism; but the discussion is too brief to do justice to this overwhelming problem.

Basically, Dewick is more concerned with historic world religions. He has had an "extensive practical acquaintance with adherents of other faiths—particularly Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists—during a residence of 26 years in India and Ceylon" (p. v). He is correct in observing that today these non-Christian religions challenge Christianity by refusing to admit the authority of Christianity and by inviting Christianity to inter-religious co-operation. Facing this double-edged challenge, Dewick asks "what has been and what should be" the Christian attitude to these rival religions? He discusses various answers given by Christians today, both "answers of refusal" and "answers of co-operation," and examines these views in the light of the message of Jesus Christ and the tradition of the Church.

The author is probably right in saying, "In the past, the Church's attitude to other religions has generally been determined more by the needs or impulses of the moment than by fundamental principles" (p. 135), but what he suggests as "first principles" or "principles clearly taught by Jesus Christ" (pp. 138-143) and "further principles essen-

tial to Christianity" (pp. 143-159) do not throw new light on the oft-repeated controversy on "continuity or discontinuity."

In his conclusion Dewick states, "We do not consider that the Christian attitude excludes the possibility that God may also have truly spoken to men through other channels; and we are ready to examine all evidence adduced in favour of (or against) this, without fear or prejudice" (p. 202). However, in his own words, "No attempt is made here to undertake a comprehensive study of non-Christian religions" (p. v); therefore it is beyond the scope of the book to "test all religions by the principles of Jesus Christ's teaching," as the author apparently felt called upon to do (p. 202). The result is a "testing" by pronouncement. It may be appropriate to quote Professor Tillich to indicate this reviewer's evaluation of the book:

It is regrettable and altogether unconvincing if Christian apologetics begins with a criticism of the historical religions without attempting to understand the typological analogies between them and Christianity and without emphasizing the element of universal preparatory revelation which they carry with them. (Paul Tillich: *Systematic Theology*, I, p. 221.)

Nevertheless, we are deeply indebted to Dr. Dewick for raising fundamental questions concerning Missions.

JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA

## NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

*Geschichte und Kultur der semitischen Völker: eine Einführung.* By Sabatino Moscati. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1953, pp. 214, 4 maps, 32 plates. DM 4.80.

This translation of the author's *Storia e civiltà dei Semiti* (Bari, 1949) is an admirable little summary of what is now known of the classical periods of the Semitic peoples—Babylonians, Assyrians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs, and Ethiopians. It is the third volume in a new series of inexpensive manuals dealing with the history of culture and entitled *Urban-Bücher*. The plates are excellently chosen and well executed. Among

the pictures of newer finds included are a page from the Dead Sea scroll of Isaiah and the Karatepe inscription.

S. E. J.

*Das Alte Testament Deutsch: Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth.* Uebersetzt und erklärt von Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953, pp. 283. DM 11.40.

Hertzberg, following Noth, treats the books of Joshua and Judges as parts of a deuteronomist history which begins with the book of Deuteronomy, and runs through Samuel and Kings. The author of this work has skilfully welded together

the sources upon which he depended—whether written or unwritten—and has imposed upon the resultant unity a theological interpretation. This must be taken into account when the material is used for a reconstruction of the history of Israel. Hertzberg's discussion of this in his introduction to Joshua is excellent, and his treatment of the older material contained in the books first-rate. So, too, is his commentary on Ruth, in which he recognizes the presence of two strata of material.

C. A. S.

*Das Alte Testament Deutsch: Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia, Kapitel 1—25:13.* Uebersetzt und erklärt von Artur Weiser. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1952, pp. 227. DM 9.80.

As would be expected by anyone familiar with the work of Weiser, this commentary on the first half of the book of Jeremiah is marked by an extraordinary sensitivity and penetration. It is, it should be noted, a commentary on the text in its present form. The distinction between the words of the prophet and the book bearing his name is, indeed, recognized, but it is for the most part disregarded in the exegesis. As a result little is said of the way in which the book reflects the gradual unfolding of the meaning of the prophet's words under the impact of later events. It is possible that the author intends to deal with this in a chapter which will appear in the second volume, summing up and articulating his conclusions as to the structure of the book. But however that may be, the commentary is very good.

C. A. S.

*Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament.* By Th. C. Vriezen. Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1953, pp. 116. Sw. fr. 12.

After a careful study of the occurrences in the Old Testament of the Hebrew word

rendered into English as "choose," the author insists that a distinction must be made between Israel's awareness—reaching back into antiquity—of itself as the people of God and the theological affirmation, appearing first in Deuteronomy and Deutero-Isaiah and based upon this awareness, that God chose Israel. This is a dogma of the Old Testament. He then examines the varied discussions of the question as to whether God has rejected Israel, and concludes that though this was the belief of certain writers it is not part of the final faith of Israel. Because of this the New Testament concept of the Church as the people of God in no way contradicts the thought of the Old Testament. It is a useful book.

C. A. S.

*Jesaja: Eine rhythmische und textkritische Untersuchung.* By D. Arvid Bruno, pp. 345. (n. p.)

*Die Bücher Genesis-Exodus: eine rhythmische Untersuchung.* By D. Arvid Bruno. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953, pp. 327. (n. p.)

The first of these volumes contains a German translation of the lyrical poems of the book of Isaiah, arranged in such a way as to indicate the lines and strophes of which they are composed. The author believes that the strophe is the rhythmic unit, and holds that while the lines may vary in length each strophe of a given poem has normally the same number of beats. In some longer poems, however, the length of the strophes may vary. This rhythmical structure must be that of the original form of the poems. It may be assumed therefore that the poems contain the *ipsissima verba* of the poet. The author holds further that the consonantal text of those passages usually regarded as hopelessly corrupt must be very close to the original. In view of the meticulous care with which the text was transmitted



in postexilic times, any errors must be of pre-exilic origin. They will have been in the first place not scribal errors, but errors which were made in reading an unvocalized text. These were reproduced in the writing of the manuscripts upon which the post-exilic book of Isaiah is based. The rhythmical structure provides the clue for the correction of many of these errors and the recovery of the original. The principles on which these corrections are made are set forth in the introduction; each correction is defended in detail, and the structure of the several strophes is explained in the notes which follow the translation. In the second volume mentioned above these principles are applied to the epic and lyrical parts of Genesis and Exodus.

Both volumes will repay careful study.

C. A. S.

*New World Translation of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Genesis-Ruth). Brooklyn: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1953. pp 852. N.p.

Appalling is the word which best describes this new translation of the Old Testament. Those responsible for it have obviously no feeling whatever for the style of the original. Their work is marked by a pretentious literalism, as wooden as it is eccentric.

C. A. S.

*Bengel und die Bibel.* By Landesbischof D. Dr. Haug. Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1953. pp. 15. Gratis.

The Württemberg Bible Society has recently celebrated its 140th anniversary. The present interesting and well illustrated lecture was delivered on the 200th anniversary of the death of Bengel, the great editor, exegete, and translator of the N.T. It is surprising to learn that even the devout and learned Bengel was severely

criticized by his contemporaries for "tampering" with the sacred text! But it is also interesting to learn that of 149 readings which he declared to be authentic, only 20 are rejected by modern editors. *Opse theôn aleousi muloi.*

F. C. G.

*A Roman-Byzantine Burial Cave in Northern Palestine.* By O.R. Sellers and D.C. Baramki. (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Supplementary Studies, Nos. 15-16.) New Haven: ASOR, 1953, pp. 55. \$1.50.

Dr. Sellers, the well known excavator of Beth Zur, and Mr. Baramki, who has been expertly active in Palestinian archaeology for a quarter-century, have presented, in a concise and lucid publication, the finds and findings of their fortnight's operation at Silet edh-Dhahr in June, 1949. The most impressive thing they discovered is a Roman bust, so badly mutilated—and so indifferently executed—that the sex of the person represented is uncertain. The lamps are of uncommon interest, and there is a considerable quantity of pottery, glassware, and metal ware. The site was in use, from the first century A.D. to the Moslem conquest, as a sepulchre. The cave contains three chambers, each with ten receptacles (*kokim*). The grain bins, seven complete and three unfurnished, probably antedate the graves.

W. C. K.

*The Qumrân (Dead Sea) Scrolls and Palaeography.* By Solomon A. Birnbaum. (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Supplementary Studies Nos. 13-14.) New Haven: ASOR, 1952, pp. 52. \$1.50.

The reviewer has greatly enjoyed Dr. Birnbaum's spirited and occasionally caustic defense of his pioneer work on the Dead Sea Scrolls. The questions at issue constitute a very special province of Se-

mitic scholarship. Dr. Birnbaum's conclusions, though based on a disciplined use of the evidence, have encountered some dissent. On the whole he seems to have the better of an exceedingly intricate argument.

W. C. K.

*Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels.* By Morton Smith.

*Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come.* By W. D. Davies.

*The Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job.* By Donald H. Gard. (Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, Vols. VI, VII, and VIII.) Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1951-1952.

The first of these works was prepared in Jerusalem under the direction of Professor M. Schwabe. Its distinctive merit is the classification of the parallels according to intrinsic type: verbal parallels, parallels of idiom, of meaning, of literary form, etc. A bibliography and indices of Tannaitic and gospel passages are included.

The second is a study of a somewhat neglected question. Davies shows that there was an expectation in Judaism that the Torah would survive and have its place in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to come, finds that references to a new Torah brought by Messiah are ambiguous (as to whether it is indeed a *new* Torah in kind or a distinctive re-affirmation of the Old), and finds in the New Testament both the idea that the words of Jesus are new Torah and the idea that Jesus himself is the New Torah.

The thesis of the third study is that most of the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew text of Job are due to alterations or omissions made by the translator in order to accommodate the book to his own theological point of view, particularly his doctrine of God.

H. G.

*The Zadokite Fragments: Facsimile of the Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collections in the Possession of the University Library, Cambridge, England, with an Introduction.* By Solomon Zeitlin. (The Jewish Quarterly Review. Monograph Series, Number I.) Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1952, pp. 32, plates XX. \$2.00.

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, compliments, observations, and brickbats have been exchanged, with most unscientific freedom, between the two pivotal groups of scholars—those who advocate a date in the last two centuries B.C. and those who hold that the manuscripts are not older than the Middle Ages. It is therefore a relief to welcome an objective contribution to this torrent of self-assured comment. Both parties are disposed to admit that the Manual of Discipline and the Habakkuk Scroll have something to do with the Zadokite Fragments, which were imperfectly, misleadingly, and churlishly published by Schechter in 1910. Prof. Zeitlin, whose extreme and probably incorrect views are well known, has done us all a good turn by putting within our reach, at a negligible cost, a complete set of facsimiles of the Zadokite Fragments. All honor to an honest scholar who is not afraid to say what he thinks and to give others a chance to decide for themselves whether he is right or wrong!

W. C. K.

*The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia.* By Herman N. Ridderbos. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953, pp. 238. \$3.50.

This volume is another in the series being edited by Dr. N. B. Stonehouse of the Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia under the title *The New International Commentary on the New Testament*. The author is professor in the theological seminary at Kampen in

Holland and his work has been translated from the Dutch by Henry Zilstra. Although the series represents a theological position which many would regard as mistakenly conservative, this commentary is from any point of view a reputable one. The author is familiar with the best work that has been done on Galatians and deals fairly with most of the problems. He is inclined to accept the South Galatian theory and to identify the visit of Paul to Jerusalem in Galatians 2 with that described in Acts 15. He rejects as too hypothetical the suggestions of Lütgert and Ropes as to the original occasion and purpose of the epistle. The book is untechnical and easy to read. There are a good many footnotes, some of them very excellent.

J. K.

*Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser, und an Philemon.* (The Meyer-Kommentar, Vol. IX, 9th ed.) By Ernst Lohmeyer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953, pp. iv + 193 + 201. DM 25.80.

The first edition of Meyer's Commentary on Philippians appeared in 1847. In 1886 a new edition (the fifth) was prepared by A. H. Franke, and in 1897 one by Erich Haupt. The eighth was prepared by the late Dr. Lohmeyer, and appeared in 1930; see the review by Burton S. Easton in this REVIEW, Vol. XIII (1931), pp. 90-92. The present edition, overseen by Werner Schmauch, contains only the marginal notes taken from the author's copy—in all other respects the volume is the same as it was in 1930. It is still marked by the genius of the author for finding triads and other patterns, and for arranging the text in poetic form. For example, the great (pre-Pauline?) "hymn" in Phil. 2 appears in six strophes of three lines each—a veritable *carmen Christo quasi Deo* (as Pliny said in describing

the early Christian worship). We believe it a hymn, but is it as rigidly organized as that? And are the verses that follow (12-16) equally strophic, balanced, metrical or poetic? But this only means that we think Lohmeyer over-did his demonstration; we cannot go quite the same distance, but almost. What he says of the Colossian heresy, and the ethos of the church there, and of the Pauline policy in dealing with it—all this is capital. Best of all, the genuine Paulinism of most of the epistle's contents is recognized. If the book had been revised, surely a reference to Cumont's *Les mages hellénisés* (1938) would have appeared on p. 7. And the numerous strange misprints in the titles of English works might have disappeared! But it is a most welcome book, a worthy perpetuation of the great work of the lamented scholar who produced it.

F. C. G.

*Zeit und Geschichte in der Offenbarung des Johannes.* By Mathias Rissi. (*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Vol. 22.) Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1952, pp. 179.

From an orientation which obviously owes a great deal to Oscar Cullmann's *Christ and Time*, the author examines successively the structure of the Book of Revelation, the terms employed to signify time, the concept of the end of the world, and the idea of the fulfillment of the world process. He concludes that the naïve primitive Christian notion of time is the only one which the author of the Revelation of John employs, and that it springs from the notion of the Christ-event (cf. Cullmann) as the mid-point in the eschatological framework of time, an idea inseparably bound up with "Biblical belief in Creation and Redemption." There is an extensive bibliography embracing some 165 titles, including many very recent foreign publications.

J. L. M.

*An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon.* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, XII.) By Martin Dibelius. 3d ed., by Heinrich Greeven. Tübingen: Mohr, 1953, pp. iii + 113. DM 9.60.

When the late Martin Dibelius died in 1947, he had already begun the preparation of this third edition; Col. I was ready. The editor, who was a student and close friend of the author, has taken the annotated copy of edition II and amplified it in the light of other works by Dr. Dibelius written shortly before his lamented death. The new volume has all the priceless qualities of the old editions, but is more up to date. Also, it is printed in a more beautiful, more legible type and on clearer paper. It will be a great advantage of this series if the new editions all appear in this improved format.

F. C. G.

*An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek.* By C. F. D. Moule. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953, pp. x + 241. \$5.00.

Exhaustive studies of the syntax of New Testament Greek have often been made by professors whose many years of experience have shown them the lacunae in the works of their predecessors. The Lady Margaret Professor at Cambridge makes no claim to supplant other works by his volume, but he does offer to students of some competence a collection of examples of the more intricate problems of N. T. Greek syntax. His purpose is stated in his preface as that of providing the material out of which students may "form some opinion on matters of exegesis which involve syntax." The most exhaustive study in the book is that on prepositions, and it is very good. Practically all the remaining categories of syntax are dealt with, although in some cases rather too briefly.

J. L. M.

*Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai.* By Kenneth W. Clark. Library of Congress, 1952, pp. xi + 53.

*Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem.* By Kenneth W. Clark. Ib., 1953, pp. xi + 44.

Dr. Clark of Duke University was Director and General Editor of the two expeditions authorized by the Library of Congress, which photographed and microfilmed, in 1949 and 1950, the thousands of biblical and liturgical mss. at the above-named libraries. These photographs will be available for use by the International Greek Testament Project which is now engaged upon a "new Tischendorf"—in fact many of the mss. are now being collated by means of these microfilms. In addition there are hundreds of liturgical mss. now at last available to textual scholars, experts in iconography, liturgiologists, and lovers of ancient books—all on these priceless photographs. Interesting introductions to the two volumes give an account of the expeditions.

F. C. G.

Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, *Bulletin II*, 1951; *Bulletin III*, 1952. Oxford: The Oxonian Press. 6s. 5d. each.

The bulletins contain reports on the September general meetings and papers by members: in No. II, "A Problem of Interpretation," by C. H. Dodd (on historical and theological interpretation); "The Western Text and the Theology of Acts," by P. H. Menoud; "Some Observations on the Semitic Background of the New Testament," by H. F. D. Sparks; and "What Was the Ascension?" by A. M. Ramsey. In No. III, "Principalities and Powers," by W. Manson; "The Gentile World in the Thought of Jesus," by

J. Jeremias; "Mark's Use of Gospel Tradition," by V. Taylor; and a study of the theme of vindication in the New Testament by C. F. D. Moule. H. G.

*New Testament Greek "Grammarette"*, compiled by Wilbur K. Nelson. 2nd edition, 1953. (Privately printed by the author, 1070 S. La Brea Ave., Los Angeles 19, Calif.) \$1.00.

This pocket-sized (4 1/2 x 6) notebook containing paradigms (except participles and contract verbs), principal parts, vocabulary, etc., is designed to enable the beginner in Greek to utilize odd moments for that inescapable memory work. Based on the grammars of Chamberlain, Dana and Mantey, and Robertson and Davis.

P. M

*Texte zur Geschichte der Taufe, besonders der Kindertaufe in der alten Kirche.* Sel. by Heinz Kraft. Berlin: DeGruyter, 1953, pp. 39. DM 3.80.

Everyone knows that for several years the old question of infant baptism has been debated once more in Germany and elsewhere on the Continent. The latest number (174) in the well-known and most useful little series founded by the late Hans Lietzmann and now continued under the editorship of Kurt Aland, *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Uebungen*, gives in handy compass the relevant texts from the period down to St. Augustine. The passages are most interesting and illuminating, and although they are fairly chosen and not "slanted", can there be any question that the early church baptized children? If nothing else proved it, the inscriptions should—i.e. the funerary inscriptions on the graves of Christian children and even infants (pp. 35-39). It is for the the *earliest* period, i.e. while

the church was still a "way" within Judaism, when our data are scantiest, that the problem is most crucial. But the probabilities, e.g. the practice of Judaism in the baptism of the children of proselytes (i.e. conceived before the mother's conversion: see J. Jeremias, *Hat die älteste Christenheit d. Kindertaufe geübt?* 1938, 2d. ed., rev., 1949), and also the situation reflected in the New Testament (e.g. St. Paul's baptism of the "household" of Stephanas), seem to point clearly in the direction of infant baptism. In the first century, it would have been very difficult to find a reason for *excluding children*—when the Corinthians, at least, even had a proxy baptism for the departed, so highly was the sacrament regarded.

F. C. G.

*The English Church and Nation.* By R. H. Malden. Macmillan, 1952, pp. xiv + 434. \$5.00.

The late Dean of Wells, the anonymous author of the incisive *Crockford Prayers*, was a man forthright in judgment, blunt in statement, a conservative Church and State Anglican in every fibre of his being, and withal thoroughly convinced that English men and English institutions are the noblest works of God. If one can overlook his condescending attitude toward lesser breeds (among whom Americans are certainly to be included, in his estimation) one will find this highly personalized and largely selective account of the history of England's Church and its role in the life of the English nation as entertaining as it is informative, with many odd bits and *obiter dicta*. From end to end it is bracing and wholesomely provocative: so different as to be unique. Says Canon Charles Smyth: "It is difficult to think offhand of any other book of comparable size and scope which can be recommended with equal confidence to any educated layman who is conscious

of the patchiness of his knowledge of the history of the Church of England and wishes to improve his mind." P. V. N.

*Life in the Early Church.* By A. E. Welsford. Seabury Press, 1953, pp. 437. \$3.00

The period from A. D. 33 to 313 is the period of great movements, missionary, theological, and cultural. Behind them lie the everyday lives of Christian people. Miss Welsford has dealt with the latter without neglecting the former, and the result is a lucid, accurate, and absorbing picture of the age. The people who lived through and contributed to the momentous changes come to life and enliven the story of the development of the New Testament, the missionary enterprise, the theological controversies, the growth of church organization. The book is simply and directly written, with copious illustrations. Surely a "must" for Church School teachers and parish libraries.

H. G.

*Regularis Concordia.* Edited by Thomas Symons. Oxford Univ. Press, 1953, pp. lix + 77. \$3.50.

This is the eighth issue in the Oxford Press series of Medieval Classics, each of which gives the Latin text and an English translation on facing pages.

*The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* is a tenth century document marking an important point in the fruition of that restoration of English national life inaugurated by Alfred the Great. A part of that restoration was the strengthening and ordering of the monastic houses, for which a large share of credit goes to Dunstan. He labored in the cause as Abbot of Glastonbury, and as Archbishop of Canterbury he played a prominent part at the Council of Winchester (about 970) whose

purpose was the drawing up of a monastic code that should bind together Glastonbury, Abingdon, Ramsey, and the other houses. All houses were united in the observance of Benedict's Rule; this concord was to settle differences in the manner of its observance.

The introduction sketches the history of the monastic reform, its place in the life of the nation, and its connection with similar movements on the Continent; it describes the organization and life of the monasteries of the tenth and early eleventh centuries, and discusses the sources and manuscripts of the *Regularis*.

H. G.

*The Works of St. Patrick. St. Secundinus' Hymn on St. Patrick.* Tr. by Ludwig Bieler (Ancient Christian Writers, Vol. 17) Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1953, pp. vi + 121. \$2.50.

The latest issue in the *Ancient Christian Writers* series contains the Letters, Fragments, Sayings, and Canon of St. Patrick, the hymn on St. Patrick mentioned in the title, and in an Appendix the *Lorica* (St. Patrick's Breastplate). The introduction and notes are by Dr. Bieler of Dublin, who has devoted a number of years to research into the life and work of the "Apostle to the Irish." The translation is from a critical text which he published earlier. A full bibliography is provided.

H. G.

*Patterns of Protestant Church Music.* By Robert M. Stevenson. Duke Univ. Press, 1953, pp. viii + 219. \$4.00.

A collection of essays on the various musical traditions which have grown up in the different denominations. One or two chapters have already appeared in the ATR. It is a very interesting and informative collection.



